UNIVERSIDAD COMPLUTENSE DE MADRID
FACULTAD DE GEOGRAFIA E HISTORIA

TESIS DOCTORAL

Los pueblos del mar en Canaan, Chipre e Iberia (siglos 12 a 10 a. C.)

Sea peoples in Canaan, Cyprus and Iberia (12th to 10th centuries BC)

MEMORIA PARA OPTAR AL GRADO DE DOCTOR

PRESENTADA POR

Carlos Roberto Zorea

Director

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Carlos Roberto Zorea

Tesis doctoral

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Universidad Complutense de Madrid

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Acknowledgments

Before matriculating with Complutense University, I was envisioning my ideal thesis-director as someone who first and foremost has the professional honesty to be open to new concepts and ideas about my research subject matter. That person would have a breadth and depth of background knowledge; would let me fly with my imagination, and keep me in check as needed; as well as have patience, listening skills, openness to discuss points of disagreement, responsiveness and clear advice.

Professor Mariano Torres Ortiz fulfilled all of these and more. He is a source of pride for the Department of Prehistory as well as the Complutense University. I have appreciated his contributions throughout this experience, including technical advice about history and archaeology, as well as to look for the good in others' writings (especially when I completely disagreed with their opinions). It has been a privilege working with you, thank you.

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Resumen

En 1855, el egiptólogo francés E. de Rougé usó por primera vez el término "Pueblos del Mar" mientras describía los relieves de Medinet Habu y los eventos del año 8 de Ramsés III (c. 1175 a. C.). El sucesor de de Rougé, G. Maspero, popularizó este término.

Los Pueblos del Mar han sido comúnmente considerados como una confederación de asaltantes que invadieron el Levante en la transición de los siglos XIII / XII a. C. Durante casi dos siglos, supuestamente atacaron las principales ciudades de Chipre, Asia Menor y Canaán y buscaron la entrada en Egipto.

Este trabajo examina la presencia histórica de los Pueblos del Mar en Canaán, Chipre y la Península Ibérica, cubriendo eventos desde inicios del siglo XII a. C. hasta su derrota en Canaán a principios del primer milenio a. C. El objetivo es comprender mejor los comportamientos y acciones de estos Pueblos del Mar.

La introducción de este trabajo (Capítulo 1) expresa las principales motivaciones que condujeron a este esfuerzo y su originalidad. Le siguen tres partes:

La Parte I está dedicada a los grupos activos en el Levante durante este período. Incluye una evaluación de los Filisteos (Capítulo 2) y su posición frente a los Egipcios, sus batallas y consecuencias. El Capítulo 3 se relaciona con los Denyen (uno de los Pueblos del Mar). Incluye el análisis de algunas de las teorías relacionadas con ellos. El Capítulo 4 trata sobre los Sherden, el grupo que es identificado en las representaciones de Medinet Habu como mercenarios egipcios. El Capítulo 5 explora las conexiones entre la tribu de Aser, otros israelitas, cananeos, tirios y los Pueblos del Mar. El Capítulo 6 analiza a los Tjeker, otro grupo de los Pueblos del Mar que tuvo una presencia prominente en Canaán que se convirtió en el núcleo de esta disertación.

La Parte II cubre los hallazgos arqueológicos asociados con la presencia de Tjeker en el Levante, inicialmente en Chipre y Ugarit, con énfasis en el norte de Canaán. Cada uno de los capítulos (del Capítulo 7 al Capítulo 12) cubre una zona geográfica diferente, enfatizando los hallazgos en sitios como Dor, Zeror, Akko, Achziv, Tell Keisan, Megiddo, Beit Shean, Hazor, Tel Dan, Tell es-Sa'idiyeh y las minas de Feynan. El último capítulo de la Parte II (Capítulo 13) captura las componentes principales de la cultura material de los Tjeker. Este capítulo se refiere también a las tecnologías que usaron y ayudaron a expandir a través del Mediterráneo.

Al explorar la conectividad entre estos sitios arqueológicos donde se identificaron hallazgos de carácter egeo, se presenta el análisis de sus estratigrafías y cronologías, y se derivan conclusiones interesantes, a través de un modelo que se desarrolló de manera gradual y ayudó a elaborar las narrativas históricas presentadas en el Capítulo 6 ("the Zorea Model"). Este modelo ayudó a proporcionar una comprensión más profunda sobre los Tjeker durante los siglos XII y XI a. C., sus migraciones, batallas, derrotas y victorias, así como los comportamientos de otros grupos.

La Parte III se centra en Iberia e incluye la teoría sobre la presencia de los Tjeker (Capítulo 14), una posible presencia micénica (Capítulo 15), la llegada de los sardos (Capítulo

16), las “estelas de guerrero” (Capítulo 17) y las innovaciones técnicas introducidas por extranjeros en Iberia (Capítulo 18). El Epílogo (Capítulo 19) ofrece conclusiones y proporciona respuestas a las preguntas formuladas en la Introducción (Capítulo 1).

La Parte III destaca la conectividad entre el Mediterráneo oriental y occidental en los siglos XII-X a. C. Los varios hallazgos arqueológicos importantes desenterrados en Iberia, Chipre y Canaán respaldan la afirmación de que los Tjeker fueron líderes en la búsqueda y comercialización de metal (estaño, plata, oro) navegando más allá de los límites del Mediterráneo occidental hacia el Atlántico. Además, llegaron a la fachada atlántica de Iberia, así como a las minas de estaño en el norte de Francia y Gran Bretaña.

Por último, el Apéndice discute el cuenco de Berzocana y más de tres docenas de piezas del mismo tipo, y su conexión con diferentes grupos del Egeo en el Levante.

Summary

In 1855, French Egyptologist E. de Rougé first used the term "Sea Peoples" while describing the reliefs of Medinet Habu and the events of Year 8 of Ramesses III (c. 1175 B.C.). de Rougé's successor, G. Maspero, popularized this term.

The Sea Peoples have been commonly thought of as a confederation of seaborne raiders who invaded the Levant at the turn of the 13th/12th centuries B.C. For nearly two centuries, they supposedly attacked major cities in Cyprus, Asia Minor, and Canaan and sought entry into Egypt.

This work reviews the historical presence of the Sea Peoples in Canaan, Cyprus and the Iberian Peninsula, covering events from the early 12th century B.C. through their defeat in Canaan at the beginning of the first millennium B.C. The aim is to better understand these Sea Peoples and their alleged behavior and actions.

The Introduction of this work expresses the main motivations that led to this effort and its originality. It is followed by three parts:

Part I is dedicated to the active players in the Levant during this period. It includes a review of the Philistines (Chapter 2) and their position vs. the Egyptians, their battles and consequences. Chapter 3 relates to the Denyen (an additional member of the Sea Peoples coalition) including the analysis of some of the theories related to them. Chapter 4 deals with the Sherden, the group that was recognized in the depictions of Medinet Habu as Egyptian mercenaries. Chapter 5 explores the connections between the Asherites, other Israelites, Canaanites, Tyrians and the Sea Peoples. Chapter 6 analyzes the Tjeker, another group of Sea Peoples that had a prominent presence in Canaan (and became the core of this dissertation).

Part II covers the archaeological findings that may be associated with the Tjeker presence in the Levant, initially in Cyprus and Ugarit, and with emphasis in northern Canaan. Each of the chapters (from Chapter 7 to Chapter 12) covers a different geography, emphasizing findings in sites such as Dor, Zeror, Akko, Achziv, Keisan, Megiddo, Beit Shean, Hazor, Tel Dan, Tell es-Sa'idiyeh and the mines of Feynan.

The last chapter in Part II (Chapter 13) captures the major components of Tjeker material culture. It also refers to technologies they used and helped spread around the Mediterranean.

By exploring the connectivity between these Part II archaeological sites where Aegean finds were identified, analyzing many of their stratigraphies and chronologies, and deriving interesting conclusions, the Zorea Model was developed incrementally and helped craft the historical narratives in Chapter 6. This model helped provide a better understanding of the Tjeker during the 12th and 11th centuries B.C., their migrations, battles, defeats and victories, as well as the behaviors of other groups.

Part III focuses on Iberia and includes the theory about a Tjeker presence (Chapter 14), a possible Mycenaean presence (Chapter 15), the arrival of Sardinians (Chapter 16) the Iberian 'warrior stones' (Chapter 17), and the technical innovations introduced by foreigners to Iberia

(Chapter 18). The Epilogue (Chapter 19) provides answers to the questions asked in the Introduction.

Part III highlights the connectivity between East and Western Mediterranean in the 12th–10th centuries B.C. The several important archaeological findings unearthed in Iberia, Cyprus and Canaan support the claim that the Tjeker were leaders in the search for and trading of metal (tin, silver, gold) by sailing beyond the western Mediterranean limits into the Atlantic. They reached Iberia's Atlantic façade as well as the tin mines in northern France and Britain.

Last, the Appendix discusses the bowl of Berzocana, more than three dozen other Berzocana-type bowls and their connection to different Aegean groups in the Levant.

INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1: Introduction

For the past decade I have devoted a substantial portion of my time to studying the connectivity between the Eastern and Western Mediterranean during the late 2nd – early 1st millennia B.C. After my retirement it became my passion and full-time job. What started as a way to satisfy personal curiosity grew to thousands of pages of research, notes and personal writings.

Around 2015, I was in touch with the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid and was encouraged to select one topic of my choosing from my research and write an article. I was inspired by an article that referred to an 8th century B.C. signature ring found in Cadiz and that could be either Phoenician or Hebrew (Bowers 1975). I wrote a paper about this ring, and the Academy accepted it and published it (Zorea 2016a). In another article, I linked Tarshish with Sefarad (Zorea 2016b). Two years later, I summarized a multi-year investigation across many of the most well-known Spanish museums regarding several dozens Judean coins minted between the 2nd century B.C. and 1st century A.D. and unearthed in Iberian soil (Zorea 2018a).

The article published by the Real Academia de la Historia led me to Professor M. Torres Ortiz and Professor A. Mederos Martín. Based on my interest to better understand the connectivity between Eastern and Western Mediterranean, Professor Torres Ortiz suggested that I explore the bowl of Berzocana, for which there was consensus among Spanish scholars that it was an Oriental piece, although little was known on how it reached Extremadura. Professor Mederos Martín also encouraged me to pursue this topic. After researching the subject for a couple of years I presented it at the 2018 *Ninth International Congress of Phoenician and Punic Studies* (Zorea 2020). An article on the subject was also published in *Complutum* (Zorea 2018b; see also Appendix to this work).

The bowl of Berzocana opened the doors to pursue a deeper dive into connections with the Sea Peoples. This theme was an intriguing, obscure and exciting chapter in Mediterranean history dated between the 12th–10th centuries B.C. Studying Berzocana-type bowls (found also in Cyprus and Canaan) inspired me to better understand the history of the people who used these items.

1. Objective

Until a few years ago, many scholars thought that in the late 13th-century B.C. crisis in the Mediterranean gave birth to a coalition of Sea Peoples who attacked the Levant and landed in Canaan and Cyprus and dominated some areas for about two centuries. Initially researchers thought that, of the various groups ascribed to the Sea Peoples, the Sherden occupied Canaan north of Dor through Akko (Stern 2013: 5 cf Mazar, B. 1964; Dothan, M. 1986; 1989b; Singer 1988; Raban 1991; Stern 2000b), the Tjeker occupied Dor (Raban and Stieglitz 1991: 37; Stager 1995: 338; Lehmann 2001: 89; Emanuel 2012b: 2; Stern 2013: 5), the Denyen occupied the territory between Dor and Tell Qasile and even Ashdod (Josephus: *AJ* 5.1.22), and the Philistines

occupied the territory south of the Yarkon (Dothan, T. 1982b). Some scholars even considered that some Sea Peoples migrated to the western Mediterranean as far as Iberia (see §4 below).

However, the history of the Sea Peoples in the Mediterranean during the 12th–10th centuries B.C. offered in the literature has been limited, fragmented, and sometimes seemingly contradictory. There is almost no primary documentation about them and dating their material culture has been a major challenge for the archaeologists who found them, as well as the scholars who analyzed them.

Given the limited number of facts about the Sea Peoples during this period, there has been wide room for historical interpretation and thereby controversy. While the Philistines established themselves in Canaan for almost 600 years, the Tjeker presence in Canaan only extended for less than two centuries.

Some of the historic narratives presented here, could be considered innovative and as such they may be exposed to debate. The many open questions found during the conduction of this research lead to study certain topics in depth and provide explanations to subjects such as:

1. Were the Philistines mercenaries in the Egyptian army?
2. The land battle between the Egyptians and the Sea Peoples is known as the Battle of Djahi. Did it take place in Canaan or by the mouth of the Nile?
3. What was the fate of those who were vanquished in the Battle of Djahi? Is there any archaeological evidence?
4. The Denyen are regarded as another of the Sea Peoples groups that landed in Canaan. However, some have suggested that they are actually related to the Israelite tribe of Dan. Is that true?
5. The Sherden are also considered to be a Sea Peoples group. Were the Sherden part of the Sea Peoples coalition or did they fight against them?
6. Another assumption is that the Sea Peoples' arrival to Canaan was contemporaneous with the arrival of the Israelites' (including the tribe of Asher). Is this true?
7. What groups of the original Sea Peoples remained in Canaan around c. 1050 B.C.?
8. While most academics describe the Tjeker presence only in the eastern Levant, archaeological evidence suggests that perhaps their reach also extended to the Western Mediterranean (as far as the Iberian Peninsula). Is there any evidence to substantiate this claim?
9. If there is evidence, where did the 12th century B.C. Tjeker arrive in Iberia?
10. Soldiers in the city of Mycenae used horned helmets as well as rounded shields, as did the Sherden. Who are depicted in the Iberian warrior stelae?
11. The bowl of Berzocana was always accepted as an Oriental object. What was the source of the copper used in its production?
12. What do the 12th/11th century B.C. articulated spits tell, if anything, about the routes followed by those seeking tin?

The importance of determining 'dating' and selecting 'appropriate interpretations' are of critical importance to every archaeologist. In proto-history archaeologists as well as historians face the challenge of the 'chicken-or-the-egg'. Can history be accepted without archaeological findings that substantiates it? Or can any archaeological finding tell exactly what the history was. To establish a convincing conclusion both needs to be compatible.

I believe that attempts to integrate both archaeological findings and possible historic narratives will lead to a better understanding of what really occurred and how those experiences can be translated into 'lessons learned' that may benefit the understanding of present reality.

Thiele (1944: 137) wrote:

> "Chronology is the backbone of history. Absolute chronology is the fixed central core around which the events of nations must be correctly grouped before they may assume their exact positions in history and before their mutual relationships may be properly understood."

The apparent lack of information and diversity of opinion make it very challenging to enjoy a clearer chronology of the Sea Peoples history. The main objective of this work is to reconcile and clarify some of that history.

What has changed in the last twenty years that invites reopening this case? New archaeological discoveries have shed light on this topic and strengthen the theory that during the 12^{th} and 11^{th} centuries B.C. Sea Peoples reached the Iberian Peninsula. This theory can be further complemented with a comprehensive analysis of the chronology and related archaeological findings in Canaan, Cyprus and the Iberian Peninsula during this period.

2. Methodology

Several tools, some of them used in the literature, were incorporated to the 'methodology suite' used in this work. In the following paragraphs I will describe some of the tools that were implemented.

Clearly, all migration has an origin and a destination. I focused in identifying these migrations (including sea voyages) and comparing, when possible, the material culture at the place of origin with that material culture found at the destination.

One of the tools selected to achieve these objectives was the identification of "markers". "Markers" can be defined as objects (or other archaeological evidence) that have very similar characteristics, and whose analysis allows the tracking of people-movements including the routes taken. The first identified marker was the Berzocana bowl found in Cáceres, Extremadura. Through intense investigation, 42 similar objects were identified in Cyprus and Canaan.

Another element incorporated into the methodology was the identification of certain geographic regions in which different objects linked to each other by their origin, have been found. Those concentrations helped define regions of presence.

The integration of the migratory routes used by the Sea Peoples and the possible confirmation of their presence in certain geographic regions helped to build historical narratives with the rigorous condition that they be chronologically compatible.

Another conceptual element of the methodology used was to expand the originally designed research plan, each time new information was identified that deemed relevant and valuable; chapter were expanded and in frequently chapters were added. The more I learned, the easier it was to change the course of the investigation and verify that the new path was preferred to the existing one. This led to an iterative process that increased the probability of the narrative's veracity.

Frequently the following question was asked: What would the leadership of these people have done under the circumstances identified at that time? My own answer to this question converted into a hypothesis, which was followed by extensive research that subsequently led to the composition of different possible answers. Once one of the answers was selected, the previously adopted historical model was confirmed or refuted, forcing corrections that modified the previously embraced model.

When it comes to Prehistory, nothing can be absolutely certain, but a scenario can be adopted as "most likely" until the next archaeological discovery proves otherwise.

In summary: This work followed an iterative process to integrate and align archaeological findings, object parallels, destruction layers; historical chronologies and textual narratives; as well as possible migrations, introductions of new technologies, etc. New evidence was constantly encountered, analyzed, filtered, absorbed and incorporated. It was learned that while an individual finding by itself may not tell a story, as part of a larger assemblage, it can.

These efforts culminated in the Zorea Model, a carefully and logically-crafted chronology and set of interpretations that offer an historic narrative of the Sea Peoples in different parts of the Mediterranean over more than two centuries. It helps address some of the controversies in the literature. However, there are some controversies related to biblical and historical chronology issues whose analysis, given their quantity and depth of variety, is beyond the scope of this thesis. For instance, this work used some biblical narratives (e.g. those surrounding King David and King Solomon in the books of Samuel, Kings and Chronicles) as literal c. 10^{th} century B.C. historical events, and I am aware there are alternate interpretations (some of which include opposing views to my own) that imply historical variations. Furthermore, for example, the controversial "low chronology" theory, which originally differed from the classic chronology by a few decades, has lost steam over time (even according to its originator, cf Finkelstein and Piazetski 2011; Mazar 2011). It bears a limited impact on the conclusions presented in this dissertation. My position on these issues has been clearly expressed throughout this work.

Although the interpretations offered in this work may not be perfect, they may be useful to provide future researchers and scholars with a more coherent base from where to continue their investigations on these topics and fill-in historical gaps that currently exist.

3. Sea Peoples vs Egypt

The hieroglyphic texts and pictorial reliefs in Ramesses III's magnificent mortuary temple of Medinet Habu, in the Theban necropolis in Egypt, immortalized the major confrontation between the Egyptians and a coalition of several of Sea Peoples in the eighth year of Ramesses III's reign (c. 1175 B.C.) (Breasted 1906b: 4, 37:§64) (Figure 1.1):

> "The countries /// ///, the [Northerners (?)] in their isles were disturbed, taken away in the [fray (?)] /// at one time. Not one stood before their hands, from Kheta (xtA), Kode (qdj), Carchemish (qArAqAmSA), Arvad (ArATw), and Alasa (ArAsA), they were wasted. [The]y [set up (?)] a camp in one place in Amor. They desolated his people and his land like that which is not. They came with fire prepared before them, forward to Egypt. Their main support was Peleset (pwrAsAT), Thekel (TAkkArA), Shekelesh (SAkrwSA), Denyen (dAjnjw), and Weshesh (wASASA). (These) lands were united, and they laid their hands upon the land as far as the Circle of the Earth. Their hearts were confident, full of their plans."

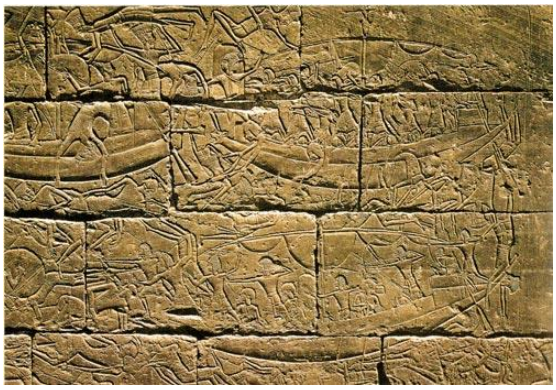

Figure 1.1: Battle of the Delta (walls of Medinet Habu) (after Wood 1991)

The fighting occurred in the "river mouth" which likely refers to the estuaries of the Nile in the Egyptian Delta (Wilson 1969: 262, n.6; Bietak 1985: 217; Sandars 1985: 124). Ramesses III declared that "Those who reached my boundaries, their offspring are not existent" (Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 55) and they were "capsized and overwhelmed" by the Egyptian naval force (*ibid.*, 41).

The massive and decisive sea-battle in the Nile Delta put an end to the Sea Peoples' momentum and hopes to conquer the fertile land of the Nile. Though outmatched, Ramesses III's decisive victory also captured a large number of invaders. Below the reliefs depicting the sea battle, rows of prisoners can be seen being led into captivity. Ramesses III (Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 47; Sandars 1985: 131) presented them to the gods and boasted: "My strong arm has overthrown (those) who came to exalt themselves."

Papyrus Harris I recorded in great detail the accomplishments of Ramesses III throughout his 31 years in power. Written shortly after his death, it is the longest existing papyrus from ancient Egypt and represents the most complete record about the reign of any Egyptian pharaoh (Bryce 1998: 370). Column 76 lines 6-9 (Wilson 1969: 262, n.6) state:

> "I extended all the frontiers of Egypt and overthrew those who attacked them from their lands. I slew the Denyen in their islands, while the Tjeker and the Philistines were made ashes. The Sherden and the Weshesh of the Sea were made non-existent, captured all together and brought in captivity to Egypt like the sands of the shore. I settled them in strongholds, bound in my name. Their military classes were as numerous as hundred-thousands. I assigned portions for them all, with clothing and provisions from the treasuries and granaries, every year."

According to the reliefs of Medinet Habu, different groups were clearly identified by the kind of headdress they used (Figure 1.2). The Sherden wore horned helmets. The Teresh and Shekelesh had fillet headbands. The Philistines, Tjeker, and Denyen wore the so-called "feather" headdress, a leather cap and an ornamental headband from which a row of slightly curving strips stood upright to form a kind of diadem. Regardless of whether the strips were feathers, reeds, leather strips, or horsehair, this head-covering was the distinguishing mark of the group (Dothan, T. 1982a: 4). Egyptian art only reflects this headdress in the 12th century B.C. (Yasur-Landau 2012: 27-40). According to Wainwright (1961: 75), the Denyen and the Philistines were all clean shaven, a sharp distinction from the Shekelesh-Teresh.

Figure 1.2: "Feather" headdress (Medinet Habu) (after Wood 1991)

Besides, about thirty years prior, Merneptah's stele c. 1208 B.C. named Egypt's victory against Sea Peoples, and it also named Israel (or Asher). The Asherites and Israelites were themselves confronted with the Sea Peoples at various points in time.

4. Sea Peoples in Iberia

The thought that some of the Sea Peoples may have been responsible for a migration/invasion to Iberia is not new.

In 1921, Schulten (1972: 18ff) stated that these Orientals may have come from Anatolia and Crete and later became the precursor of the Tartessian culture.

Almost half a century later, Blanco Freijeiro (1967: 170) stated (translated by Zorea):

> "Although Schulten's theory has not found 'scientific-credit', there are aspects like the alphabet that invite to consider the possibility that 'in the diaspora of people' that takes place in the Mediterranean as a result of Indo-European invasions and the turmoil caused in the East by the 'Sea Peoples' some waves of new people reached the shores of the Peninsula and contributed efficiently to the buildup of 'a new world' that later would be visited by Phoenicians and Greeks."

Duque Montenegro (1970: 263, 287; 1972: 263-267), who was not an archaeologist and used a text-based philological methodology for his analysis, echoed similar ideas and the concept that Sea Peoples were present in the Iberian Peninsula:

> "Our studies have demonstrated that the founders (of Tartessos) were the Tartesians (known as 'tursenos') and the 'massieni' or 'mastienos' Indo-europeans that broke-up from the Sea Peoples."

Bendala Galán (1977: 205) commented about his predecessors' opinions, without ruling out the basic idea that those displaced from the central Mediterranean landed in the Iberian Peninsula. He added (1997):

> "Other than these exceptions, a discrete silence has surrounded the Peoples of the Sea, largely, because it didn't seem necessary to discuss the matter."

According to Rodríguez Díaz and Enríquez Navascués (2001: 101-107), Iberia was an important source of tin. It is reasonable to assume that Sea Peoples (or Orientals) looked for tin in the Peninsula.

Almagro Gorbea (1989: 283) considered the Sea Peoples as those arriving to the Peninsula in Precolonial periods and Bendala Galán (1997) hints about the presence of two distinctive groups in Iberia.

The first group relates to Mycenaean Cypriotes (Lo Schiavo *et al.* 1985; Bendala Galán 1990; 1991), warriors that sailed commercially in the Mediterranean. Bendala Galán (1997: 91) observed:

> "With regard to the mode of navigation used in the precolonial period, recent studies identify sailors in search of fortune as an important catalyst to the Mediterranean ferment in the years of the Dark Age (Bunnens 1986; Vagnetti 1985; Knapp 1992)".

About the relation between the Mycenaean and the Sea Peoples, Bendala Galán added (1997: 92):

> "… the Mycenaean component that is ascribed to the early Tartessian period could be explained by direct contact with Mycenaeans, who were in my view, one of the Sea Peoples."

The second group of foreigners in the Iberian Peninsula was attributed to the Sherden/Sardinians/Nuragic (Bendala Galán 1997: 92). Bendala Galán quoted Knapp (1992) and Tykot (1994):

> "The possibility of a migration toward the Western-Mediterranean of groups of peoples of the Sea, including the thought-provoking etymological relationship between the Shardana and Sardinia, is not to be dismissed."
>
> "The warriors depicted on the Tartessian Stelae of the southwest have many of the characteristics of some of the Peoples of the Sea and in particular of the Sherden or Shardana, helmets with horns, swords and round shields.…The question raised by Deger-Jalkotzy (1983) of the relationship between the Peoples of the Sea and the use of 'handmade burnished ware' begs the question about Tartessian pottery, which is very similar in the precolonial period. This kind of pottery is present in the Nuraghic culture."

Regarding the issue of cremation (used by Sea Peoples elites of Aegean origin), Bendala Galán wrote (1997: 92):

> "In numerous places affected by the destruction caused by Sea Peoples it is also noted that immediately afterwards, cremations suddenly replaced inhumations in burial practice (Karkemish, Alalakl Hamat). That could also feasibly have taken place in Iberia where it is possible to associate the emergence of the funerary rite of cremation with the first stage of the development of Tartessos."

5. Content

The present work consists of three parts: Part I is dedicated to understanding the situation in Canaan during the period 12^{th}–10^{th} centuries B.C. emphasizing the roles played by notable groups that could have populated this region (Philistines, Egyptians, Sherden, Denyen, Tjeker, Asherites, Israelites, Tyrians etc.).

Chapter 2: Philistines. It reviews archaeological discoveries in the last decades that have confirmed Philistine presence in southern Canaan during the time of the Sea Peoples. With about 600 years of presence in Canaan, the Philistines are the best-known Sea Peoples group. Common perceptions about the Philistines have also been inspired by Biblical narratives such as Samson and Dalila, David and Goliath and King David's victory over them. This chapter explores the 12^{th} century B.C. relationship between Egypt and the Philistines based on archaeological findings, including those depicted in Medinet Habu, as well as multiple findings in southern Canaan that reveal the attacks conducted by the Philistines against Egyptian sites. The Old Testament does not describe other Sea Peoples groups in Canaan by name (such as the Tjeker, or the Denyen), but clearly attests to the presence of the Philistines in Philistia.

Chapter 3: Denyen. It identifies another Sea Peoples Aegean group, member of the confederation that attacked the Egyptians in the Battle of the mouth of the Nile. Some theories claim they landed in Canaan where the Israelite tribe of Dan resided. Were the Denyen and the tribe of Dan the same entity? Were they related to one another? Or were they disparate groups that intermixed and migrated north to Tel Dan? (See also Chapter 11).

Chapter 4: Sherden. This chapter introduces this non-Aegean group that reached Canaan and was best known for wearing horned helmets and being used as mercenaries by Egyptians. Where were they present in Canaan? Along the northern coasts as claimed by many scholars? Did they fight with or against the invading coalition of Sea Peoples? This chapter discusses their role in the Battle of Djahi, their possible burial practices, as well as the findings in El-Ahwat, Tell es-Sa'idiyeh and other locations in Canaan.

Chapter 5: Asherites, Israelites, Tyrians and the Sea Peoples, treats the relationship between the Israelite tribe of Asher and Tyre and the influence they had on the Sea Peoples in Canaan.

Chapter 6: Tjeker is the last chapter of Part I. It proposes a new historical model about the Tjeker. It reconciles many of the controversies identified in Part I, and covers historical events in Canaan like c. 1130 B.C. when the Tjeker invaded Canaan, took revenge on the Egyptians and destroyed their garrisons. Consequently, Egypt would be absent from Canaan for a period of about 170 years.

Part II (Tjeker in Cyprus and Canaan) focuses on the archaeological findings which I propose be attributed to the Tjeker in Cyprus and Canaan.

The historic narrative provided by this model is supported by archaeological finds identified in multiple locations where Tjeker seemed to be present.

This part provides a wider perspective about Tjeker material culture, origins, regional interconnectivity, and migration paths. It includes Chapters 7 to 13.

While Chapter 7 was dedicated to the Tjeker presence in Cyprus, the subsequent five chapters cover distinctive regions of northern Canaan: Chapter 8 addresses the Akko Valley (Tell Keissan, 'Akko and Achziv); Chapter 9 deals with the Carmel Valley (Ein Hagit, Tel Dor, Tel Nami, Tel Shikmonah) as well as the Sharon Plain (Tel Zeror, Tell Jatt and Tell Qasile)[1]; Chapter 10 introduces the findings in the Jezreel Valley (Megiddo, Afula, Tell Qiri, Yokneam, Qashish, Horvat Hazon, and Dothan); Chapter 11 focuses on the Eastern Galilee (Tel Dan and Hazor); Chapter 12 alludes to the findings in Jordan and Arabah Valleys (Beit Shean, Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, Tell el Mazar, Deir Alla and Feynan); Chapter 13 summarizes the main elements of the Tjeker material culture in northern Canaan as well as their contributions of technology and innovation.

Part III of this work concentrates on issues related to the Iberian Peninsula. It sheds light about who could have been present there during the 12^{th}–10^{th} centuries B.C.

[1] Stern, E. (2013: 64) claims that Tjeker material culture was identified in Tell Qasile (stratum X) as well as in the neighboring sites along the Yarkon River such as Aphek, Jaffa, Tel Gerisa and perhaps Azor likely had mixed populations of Tjeker and Philistines.

Chapter 14: Tjeker in Iberia, brings to light a series of archaeological findings that could link the Tjeker with Atlantic Iberia and Huelva. It is about connectivity between East and West around the 12th–10th centuries B.C.

Chapter 15: Mycenaeans, describes their culture and explores evidence (helmets and shields) that could have linked Mycenaean Greece with Iberia.

Chapter 16: The warrior stelae, presents their evolution through time and the nature of the depictions in them.

Chapter 17: Sardinians, establishes the connections between Cyprus and Sardinia as well as Sardinia and the Iberian Peninsula.

Chapter 18: Technology and Innovation, exposes the introduction to the Peninsula of foreign technologies around the 11th–10th centuries B.C. and

Chapter 19: Epilogue, summarizes the answers to the main questions posted at the beginning of this Introduction.

To complete this dissertation an Appendix has been added that focuses on the bowl of Berzocana, Cáceres. It provided the first building-block in a series of logical sequential steps that helped to derive the conclusions hereby presented. The identification of 42 additional bronze bowls with similar characteristics led to distant regions such as Cyprus and Canaan (on both sides of the Jordan River).

6. Originality

There are many books and articles with distinctive and sometimes polarized interpretations about the Sea Peoples. My background in Aeronautical Engineering, Business Management and other historical research cautioned me to constantly differentiate between facts and interpretations. One of the biggest obstacles in understanding the history of the Sea Peoples has been clarifying such differences, especially when some researchers and scholars have accepted repeated interpretations as facts.

The value of this work includes a) An integration of multiple disciplines such as Archaeology, Egyptian and Classic documents, Biblical narratives, scholarly literature and modern scientific testing); b) A creative reconciliation of historic chronologies based on the research and findings; c) The ability to connect and correlate events that took place in different times and among different geographies; and d) The attribution to certain historical events of various archaeological findings.

This thesis dug deep to understand the critical and extensive role played by one of the main Sea Peoples warrior groups: the Tjeker. There are at least four areas of historical interest that benefited from my study and interpretations (Zorea model) of the archaeological and textual finds. First, Tjeker-dynamics since the c. 12th century B.C. in the Eastern Mediterranean. These included their arrival to Canaan, defeat to the Egyptians, migration from Canaan to Cyprus, later return to Canaan (after more than half a century), victory over the Egyptians in their own garrisons (1130 B.C.), and settlement thereafter until c. 980 B.C.

Second, an expanded understanding of the Tjeker material culture based on archaeological findings in Cyprus and Canaan and reinforced in various cases by findings in Iberia. The "Philistines of Northern Canaan" (Tjeker) had their own culture that showed similarities and differences with the other large group of Aegeans in southern Canaan known as the Philistines.

Third, the presence of the Tjeker in Iberia during the 12th and 11th centuries B.C. Objects found in the Eastern and Western Mediterranean supported the Tjeker's role in the metal-trading industry and the routes they followed to acquire tin. Greater acceptance of a Tjeker presence in Iberia at that time may open the possibility to update the classification of many items found in the Peninsula and labeled of 'Oriental origin'.

Fourth, the Berzocana-type bowls. Although the geographic distribution of 37 such bowls was published in December of 2018, their meaning, use and role in the Aegean material culture was further researched to help confirm Tjeker presence in Canaan and Cyprus. The study of Berzocana-type bowls helped tie the Tjeker to the connectivity between East and West across the Mediterranean and supported the models developed in this dissertation.

The detail of the pre-colonization period in Iberia (12th to 9th centuries B.C.) cannot yet be fully understood but I believe this work helps clarify at least partially, the occurrences that took place between the Eastern and Western Mediterranean during that period.

The most demanding challenge was to gather one fact at a time, and to look at each fact from many different angles until they could be integrated into an historically compatible narrative. Future archaeological findings and new scientific testing will confirm (or refute) the claims hereby presented. As defined by Leo Treitler (1989: 43): "The claim of certainty is no more than a claim that one will have provided the most coherent context of thought that is consistent with all of the evidence."

PART I:

Sea Peoples in Canaan

Chapter 2: Philistines

Egyptian sources provide numerous accounts about the Sea Peoples. The most important of such texts come from Ramesses III's temple of Medinet Habu and Papyrus Harris I early in the 12th century B.C. As noted below, their references to the *Peleset* (or *Palasti*) have been attributed to the Philistines.

1. Origins

The period of the Sea Peoples in Canaan in the 12th–10th centuries B.C. seems to coincide with a biblical period that overlaps with the Israelite Judges and the first Israelite kingdoms. Prior to this, biblical accounts depict the Philistines during two distinctive periods: first, in the pre-Exodus time of the Hebrew Patriarchs (Genesis 21:32-34; 26:1, 8, 14-15); and second, when the Israelite Exodus avoided the "way of the Philistines" on their trek to Canaan (Exodus 13:17) and the Israelite territory was described as reaching the "sea of the Philistines" (Exodus 23:31). According to Machinist (2000: 53-83) such biblical references are simply indicative of the geography in southern Canaan.

Nonetheless, the origin of Philistines has been a source of debate among historians and archaeologists (see Figure 2.1 for a map of the various regions described below). Many agree that they were not indigenous to Canaan and migrated from elsewhere in the Mediterranean (Stager 1998: 152-3; Finkelstein 2002: 150; Maeir 2012). Some support the notion that the Philistines were of Aegean origin (Fantalkin 2006: 205; Faust and Lev-Tov 2011).

Comparing Egyptian Kefteu with biblical Caphtor has led some to interpret that the Philistines came from Crete (de Vaux 1978: 503-507; Singer 1988: 242). The Bible says that the Philistines and Caphtorim originated from *Caphtor* (Hebrew for the island of Crete) (Genesis 10:13-14; Deuteronomy 2:23; Amos 9:7; Jeremiah 47:4):

Genesis 10:13-14

13 And Mizraim begot the Ludim and the Anamim and the Lehabim and the Naphtuhim,
14 And the Pathrusim and the Casluhim, from whom the Philistines emerged, and the Caphtorim.

יגוּמִצְרַ֗יִם יָלַ֞ד אֶת־לוּדִ֤ים וְאֶת־עֲנָמִים֙ וְאֶת־לְהָבִ֔ים וְאֶת־
נַפְתֻּחִֽים׃
יִדוְאֶת־פַּתְרֻסִ֖ים וְאֶת־כַּסְלֻחִ֑ים אֲשֶׁ֥ר יָצְא֖וּ מִשָּׁ֥ם
פְּלִשְׁתִּ֛ים וְאֶת־כַּפְתֹרִֽים׃

Deuteronomy 2:23

23 But the Avim, who dwell in open cities, up till Gaza -- the Caphtorites, who came forth of Caphtor, exterminated them, and dwelt in their stead.

כגוְהָעַוִּ֞ים הַיֹּשְׁבִ֤ים בַּחֲצֵרִים֙ עַד־עַזָּ֔ה כַּפְתֹרִ֖ים הַיֹּצְאִ֣ים
מִכַּפְתֹּ֑ור הִשְׁמִידֵ֗ם וַיֵּשְׁבוּ֙ תַּחְתָּֽם׃

Amos 9:7

7 Are you not like the children of the Cushites to Me, O children of Israel? says the Lord. Did I not bring Israel up from the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor and Aram from Kir?

זהֲלֹוא֩ כִבְנֵ֨י כֻשִׁיִּ֜ים אַתֶּ֗ם לַ֙י בְּנֵ֣י יִשְׂרָאֵל֮ נְאֻם־יְהוָה֒
הֲלֹ֣וא אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵ֗ל הֶֽעֱלִ֙יתִי֙ מֵאֶ֣רֶץ מִצְרַ֔יִם וּפְלִשְׁתִּ֖ים
מִכַּפְתֹּ֑ור וַאֲרָ֖ם מִקִּֽיר׃

Jeremiah 47:4

4 Because of the day that is coming to plunder all the Philistines, to cut

דעַל־הַיֹּ֗ום הַבָּא֙ לְשַׁדֹּ֣ד אֶת־כָּל־פְּלִשְׁתִּ֔ים לְהַכְרִ֖ית לְצֹ֣ר

off from Tyre and Zidon every surviving helper, for the Lord plunders the Philistines, the remnant of the island of Caphtor.

וּלְצִידוֹן כָּל שָׂרִיד עֹזֵר כִּי־שֹׁדֵד יְהוָה אֶת־פְּלִשְׁתִּים שְׁאֵרִית אִי כַּפְתּוֹר׃

Some nineteenth century scholars thought the Philistines were Aegean Pelasgians (Drews 1993: 55, cf Chabas 1872: 292-96; Maspero 1873: 85). According to the 8th century B.C. Homeric poems, the Pelasgians were Trojan allies (*Il*. 2.840) who, after the early 12th century B.C. Trojan War, appeared alongside the Achaeans and Dorians in Crete (*Od*.19.177).

A. Mazar (1985b: 105; 1988: 256) concluded that the Philistines were Mycenaeans who were in Cyprus long before they reached southern Canaan. Stager (1995: 344) imagined a mass migration of Mycenaeans from Crete: "boatload after boatload of Philistines, along with their families, livestock and belongings… arrived in southern Canaan… with an estimated immigrant population of 25,000." Stager (1998) was convinced that the Philistines sailed from the Aegean to the southern Canaan coast, and established themselves in strategic settlements like Ashkelon before assaulting Egypt. As such, the Philistines maintained a distinct identity in their new environment by the continued symbolic use of Aegean-derived material culture (Faust and Lev-Tov 2011).

Yasur-Landau (2010) suggested the Philistines migrated from the Aegean by sea as well as land across Anatolia and down the Levantine coast. According to Mederos Martín (2007: 93-94), campaigns by Hittite kings Tudhaliya IV and Šuppiluliuma II displaced *Prst* (Peleset) from Lukka in southwestern Anatolia, and they found refuge in Crete and Canaan.

Others have doubted that the Philistines were of Mycenaean origin (Sherratt 1998: 292-313; 2013: 619-644; Vanschoonwinkel 1999: 85-108; Bauer 2014: 31-40; Middleton 2015: 45). Drews (1998: 39) argued that the Peleset were local Canaanites.

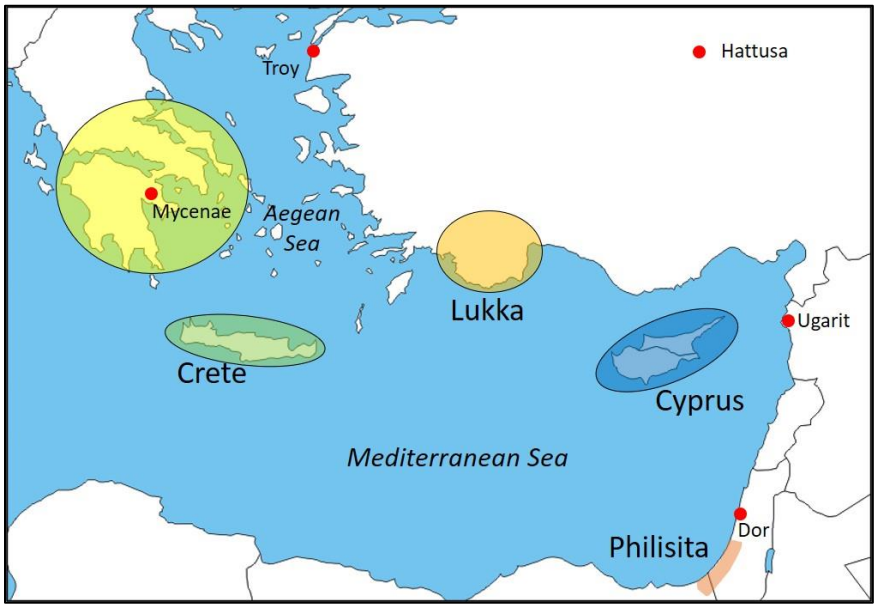

Figure 2.1: Philistine origins – Possible regions

2. Material Culture

At the very beginning of Iron Age I in the 12th century B.C., a wave of Philistines settled and dominated some of the finest land in Canaan commonly referred to as Philistia (Dothan and Dothan 1992; Yasur-Landau 2010). This agricultural rich coastal strip stretched from the Yarkon river in the north (near modern Tel Aviv) to south of Gaza. Some of the world's most important trade routes between Egypt and Syria/Mesopotamia, including the Horus Way and Via Maris, passed through this region.

The Philistines brought with them the architectural knowledge to build domestic and public buildings, a culinary preference for pork (Stager 1998: 165), a drinking preference for wine mixed with water, and religious rituals as represented by female figurines. Their pottery resembles Minoan and Mycenaean work, usually classified as Mycenaean IIIC:1b or Myc IIIC. Their armor, weapons, dress, burial-methods, military tactics, government-structure and even their religion, are in line with Aegean customs and beliefs. This was the culture that flourished on the Greek mainland, and in particular on the island of Crete (Caphtor).

In recent years, excavations in Israel established that the Philistines had fine pottery, great architecture and cosmopolitan tastes. The Philistines were a very sophisticated and advanced society. For several generations, their material culture, military knowledge, and weaponry were years' ahead of the Israelites'. Philistine art was refined and heavily influenced by Mycenaean motifs as well as Egyptian and Canaanite elements.

2.1 Pottery and ceramics

The most discussed and analyzed aspect of the Philistine material culture is the Philistine pottery (Welch 1900: 342-350; Tiersch 1908: 378-384; Dothan, T. 1982a: 95ff; Mazar, A. 1992c: 265-71; Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau 1996; Stager 1998; Killebrew 2000: 233-254; Dothan and Zukerman 2004; Dothan and Ben-Shlomo 2013: 29-36; Stockhammer 2017: 379-388).

T. Dothan (1982a) wrote:

> "Of the four different sources of influence distinguishable in the shapes and decoration of Philistine pottery – Mycenaean, Cypriot, Egyptian and local Canaanite-the dominant influence is that of the Mycenaean as it was derived from the Aegean Repertoire.
>
> "It appears that Philistine pottery was one of the local ramifications that developed after the collapse of the Myc.IIIB pottery koine style of the Late Bronze Age. It can be stated with confidence that this pottery was not the product of a people coming directly from their country of origin with a homogeneous tradition but rather reflects the cultural influences picked up along the way in the long, slow, meandering migration from their Aegean homeland.
>
> "The association of Philistine Pottery with the Philistines is based on the fact that this kind of pottery appears almost exclusively in areas settled by the Philistines and other Sea People and is found in the strata that correspond in time to references in the historical sources."

The earliest pottery of this type is unique and easy to identify. Scholars call it Mycenaean IIIC: 1b ware (Dothan, T. 1985: 167-70; Mazar A. 1985a: 119-20; 1985b: 95-107), similar in all respects to a Mycenaean pottery made in the Aegean area in the same period. Monochrome pottery, usually red or black in contrast to a background, appears in Canaanite and Egyptian sites that showed clear evidence of destruction, usually in the subsequent squatter phase (Dothan and Zukerman 2004: 1-54). That such material was not found in conjunction with Egyptian artifacts provides further evidence that it represented a distinct material culture. Therefore, this pottery was likely made by foreign craftsmen who migrated to Philistia and kept their culture and socio-economic system intact.

Neutron-activation analysis proved the early monochrome Mycenaean IIIC pottery found in southern Canaan was made in Ashdod and Ekron from local clays (Asaro *et al.* 1972: 169-75: Perlman and Asaro 1982: 70-90; Gunneweg *et al.* 1986: 3-16) c. 1200 B.C. and more specifically that of the Philistines in Canaan during the reign of Ramesses III (Mazar A. 1985b: 85-107; Singer 1985: 109-122; Stager 1986: 60).

After a generation or more, the monochrome style gave way to rich motif varieties that persisted for the next two centuries in the form of bi-chrome decoration of black and red on heavy white slip background famously known as Philistine Pottery (Stager 1991: 60) **(**Figure 2.2).

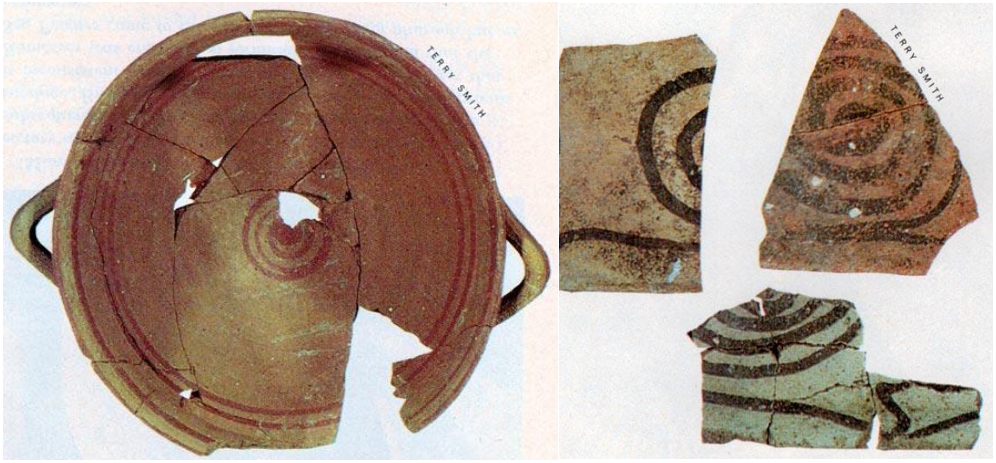

Figure 2.2: Aegean pottery designs manufactured in Philistia (after Wood 1991)

Rim sherds unearthed in the various levels of Ashdod areas H and K were quantitatively analyzed (Ben-Shlomo 2005). In stratum XIII, which is dated to the early 12th century B.C., around 73 per cent of the vessels found were of Canaanite tradition, and only 24 per cent were of monochrome and bi-chrome Philistine styles (Ben-Shlomo 2005: 70, 78). In stratum XII of the same areas, 52 per cent of the pottery was in the local tradition, while 47 per cent was Philistine (Ben-Shlomo 2005: 120). In the last quarter of the 12th century B.C., a slight decline in the overall quality of the ware and some departure from original Mycenaean shapes and decoration is observable.

By the second half of the 11th century B.C., there appear some hybrid Philistine and local types of ware. In stratum XI, in the same areas discussed above, the percentage of local pottery in the assemblage decreased to 41 per cent, while Philistine pottery increased to 58 per cent (Ben-Shlomo 2005: 132, 161). This transformation can be seen particularly in the bowls and kraters. The white-slipped, bi-chrome decoration gradually died out, often replaced by the red slip, hand burnishing, and dark brown decoration more characteristic of Canaanite ware.

The finds in Tell Qasile revealed other differences. Tell Qasile was located by the northern bank of the Yarkon River and about 2 km from the Mediterranean coast. It was excavated in 1950s by B. Mazar (Dothan and Dunayevsky 1993: 1204-1207), and in the 1970s by A. Mazar (1980; 1985a). It was established for the first time by the Philistines in the mid-12th century B.C. Area A included two Iron I strata, XII and XI, which included Philistine objects. M. Artzy (2006b: 79) observed that there were "notable differences between the assemblages of the two strata pointing out that there is some deterioration in the ceramics of stratum XI." Artzy (2006b: 79) added:

> "While Philistine ceramics still appear among the objects found in Stratum X, especially in area C, it is the *[northern Canaan]* elements in the ceramics (Mazar 1985) which are most noteworthy. These include red-slipped hand burnished vessels, of similar fabric to that of the strainer jug from the Jatt hoard. Mazar notes that in dwelling area A, no painted Philistine pottery was found associated with Stratum X (Mazar 1985: 123), although it was found in the cultic area C. He attributes this to some changes in the composition of the population of Tell Qasile in the 11th century BCE… This is the time in which clear signs of renewed international trade relations can be seen, including vessels imported from the northern coastal areas … a few storage jars from Egypt, and a very few representatives from Cyprus (Mazar 1985: 123). We should note here that this change came about after the withdrawal of the Egyptian presence."

For additional discussion about Tell Qasile stratum X, see Chapters 6, 7, and 9.

2.2 Metalworking

In the early 11th century B.C., the Philistines and other Sea Peoples dominated Canaan's coasts as well as substantial in-land territories from the Sinai to the Galilee. Their metalsmiths produced superior weaponry that gave them an advantage in battle and helped maintain their military supremacy.

Returning to Tell Qasile, do metal finds in this site reinforce a similar pattern as the ceramic finds? A. Mazar (1985a: 5) emphasized the strong metal-works connections between Tell Qasile and Cyprus during the 12th and 11th centuries B.C. He compared some of the metal finds in Tell Qasile (Building Q's furnace, Area A) with objects found in Cyprus and postulated that the copper came from Cyprus to Tell Qasile. He also suggested that groups of metalworkers migrated from Cyprus to Tell Qasile and the plains of Canaan.

Perhaps both pottery and metal findings help confirm that 11th century B.C. Tell Qasile also interacted with the north. This also supports the idea that "northern" Sea Peoples (probably

Tjeker) expanded south towards the Philistine boundary around the Yarkon River (see Chapter 9).

2.3 Architecture

At the turn of the 13th/12th centuries B.C., every-day Philistine domestic life resembles Aegean patterns previously unfamiliar in Canaan (Yasur-Landau 2010: 280). Unlike the palaces and houses of the Aegean, the earliest Aegean-inspired architecture in Philistia is of a strictly vernacular nature. None is masterfully designed or bears ornamentation that can be assigned to a specific style (Yasur-Landau 2010: 279).

The Philistines built large planned cities, fortresses, palaces, temples, and markets, all of which were surrounded by thirteen-feet-thick walls. They built the Dagon-temple in Gaza similar to Cretan designs. Excavations in Tel Miqne/Ekron as well as Ashkelon confirm the Aegean character of Philistine houses. An additional excavation in Ashdod reveals an Egyptian house refitted into an Aegean house (Yasur-Landau 2010: 270).

The house architecture accommodates the Philistine activities carried in the home such as the Aegean style cooking and weaving. It has been argued that this adoption of Aegean practices was a result of trade and close economic connections with Cyprus (Sherratt 1998). However, that would imply a gradual change and therefore does not explain the sudden use of Aegean practices in Philistia. Furthermore, the 12th century B.C. LHIIIC-style imports from Cyprus to Canaan was limited to the north and never arrived in Philistia (Yasur-Landau 2010: 280). In contrast, Tell Qasile's stratum X seems to capture an 11th century B.C. mixture of cultural influences. It has a pattern of orthogonal urban planning which may reflect a Cypriot influence (Mazar, A. 1985a). It also included a four-room house whose designer is unknown, although the evidence in Tel Sharia suggests it was the Philistines (Oren and Netzer 1974: 264-66; Oren 1982: 161-2; Oren 1993: 1329-35). However, its use of timber columns is similar to one in Megiddo VI-A (Artzy 2006) and represents a parallel between Tell Qasile and the region north of the Yarkon River (see Chapters 9 and 10).

2.4 Ships

Philistine ships may be best depicted by the Temple of Medinet Habu friezes. Only one type of boat is shown (Raban 1988) and its variations have been discussed by several scholars (Casson 1971: 36-42; Wachsmann 1981: 187-220; 1982: 297-304; 1997: 339-356; Emanuel 2014: 21-56). Wachsmann (1981: 191) describes what possibly represent Philistine ships: "The Sea Peoples' craft have a gently curved hull ending in angular vertical stem and sternposts both culminating in bird-head decorations. At bow and stern the ships have raised fore and after castles."

The angular shape of the hull and the bird-head decoration of the stem and sterns posts clearly belong to Aegean tradition (Dothan, T. 1982a). Depictions from the 12th century B.C.

attest that the bird decoration was used in the Aegean during the Bronze Age. Another important feature regarding the hull of this type of ship is the symmetrical profile. While the Medinet Habu depictions of attacking ships were not identical (perhaps belonging to different groups of Sea Peoples) (Wachsmann 1981: 195), they had both decorative and functional elements as ships appearing in Helladic contemporary art.

2.5 Ivory carving

Large assemblages of ivories from Iron Age Ekron, Ashdod and Ashkelon have also been identified (Ben-Shlomo and Dothan 2006). All the findings came from well-stratified Iron Age I contexts. Many of them can be attributed to the 12th century B.C. and reflect some Egyptian and Syrian sources of influence. The domestic items are mostly related to cosmetics, boxes and toiletries reflecting the elite classes.

2.6 Religion

The Aegean background of Philistine religion is especially evident in the earliest examples of 12th century B.C. Archaeological evidence from the Aegean has revealed that female, and not male, deities were predominantly worshipped in the 12th century B.C. (Dothan, T. 1982a: 4). Cult objects unearthed in Ashdod revealed that locals worshiped the Mycenaean "Great Mother" or "Great Goddess". The most famous object from Ashdod honored a goddess of Aegean origin and was nicknamed "Ashdoda." The first of these figurines was brought to light by M. Dothan while excavating Ashdod (Dothan, T. 1982a: 234–49) and several others were found in Aphek, Tell Qasile, and Tel Batash/Timnah. Additional Ashdoda were also found in Gezer, Tel Miqne/Ekron, and Ashkelon (Yasur-Landau 2001: 332-335).

The unparalleled art of the "Ashdoda" figurines were interpreted by Dothan as "a variant of the Mycenaean female figurine seated on a throne, and sometimes holding a child" (Yasur-Landau 2010: 305). Dothan also identified "mourning" figurines of the late 12th and 11th centuries B.C. as originating directly from Aegean tradition. A detailed iconographic and contextual analysis of the origin, function, and identity of the goddess depicted in the "Ashdoda" figurines strongly supports Dothan's notion that the prototype for the "Ashdoda" figurines was an Aegean earth goddess (Yasur-Landau 2010: 312).

According to Aharoni (1967), "The Aegean cult objects found in Ashdod reaffirmed that the Philistine Pantheon originated in the Aegean." It is also possible that Aegean women helped introduce the cult of the Aegean goddess(es) in Canaan with the "Ashdoda" and other female figurines. There are several examples of priestesses involved in the introduction of cults of female deities to the newly founded Greek colonies (Graham 1982: 148).

By the 11th century B.C. the Philistines started to adopt elements of Canaanite religion that honored male gods, including the Canaanite deity Dagon (Dothan, T. 1982b):

> "There is both agreement and discrepancy between the Biblical references to the Philistines and the archaeological evidence. The Aegean background of Philistine religion (which is not disclosed in the Bible) is especially evident in the earliest examples of cult objects from Ashdod (from the 12th century B.C.) which emphasize the worship of the Mycenaean "Great Mother" or "Great Goddess." Archaeological evidence from the Aegean has revealed that in that area, female, not male, deities were predominantly worshipped. Apparently by the 11th century this pantheon was replaced by a male Canaanite pantheon reflecting the Philistines' more recent cultural milieu."

Dagon is mentioned in several Bible verses in association with the Philistines. For example, the capture of Samson was celebrated in the Philistine temple of Dagon in Gaza in a religious ceremony (Judges 16:21-23):

Judges 16:23

כגוְסַרְנֵי פְלִשְׁתִּים נֶאֱסְפוּ לִזְבֹּחַ זֶבַח־גָּדוֹל לְדָגוֹן אֱלֹהֵיהֶם וּלְשִׂמְחָה וַיֹּאמְרוּ נָתַן אֱלֹהֵינוּ בְּיָדֵנוּ אֶת שִׁמְשׁוֹן אוֹיְבֵינוּ׃

And the lords of the Philistines gathered to offer a great sacrifice to Dagon their god and to rejoice. And they said, "Our god has delivered our enemy Samson into our hands."

In Philistine Ashdod, Dagon was also represented by a sizeable image in his Temple (I Samuel 5: 1-5):

אוּפְלִשְׁתִּים לָקְחוּ אֵת אֲרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים וַיְבִאֵהוּ מֵאֶבֶן הָעֵזֶר אַשְׁדּוֹדָה׃

1 Now, the Philistines had taken the Ark of God, and brought it from Ebenezer to Ashdod.

בוַיִּקְחוּ פְלִשְׁתִּים אֶת־אֲרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים וַיְבִאוּ אֹתוֹ בֵּית דָּגוֹן וַיַּצִּיגוּ אֹתוֹ אֵצֶל דָּגוֹן׃

2 And the Philistines took the Ark of God and brought it to the house of Dagon, and set it up beside Dagon.

גוַיַּשְׁכִּמוּ אַשְׁדּוֹדִים מָמָּחֳרָת וְהִנֵּה דָגוֹן נֹפֵל לְפָנָיו אַרְצָה לִפְנֵי אֲרוֹן יְהוָה וַיִּקְחוּ אֶת־דָּגוֹן וַיְשִׁבוּ אֹתוֹ לִמְקוֹמוֹ׃

3 And the Ashdodites arose early on the morrow, and behold, Dagon was falling face downward to the ground before the Ark of the Lord, and they returned him to his place.

דוַיַּשְׁכִּמוּ בַבֹּקֶר מִמָּחֳרָת וְהִנֵּה דָגוֹן נֹפֵל לְפָנָיו אַרְצָה לִפְנֵי אֲרוֹן יְהוָה וְרֹאשׁ דָּגוֹן וּשְׁתֵּי | כַּפּוֹת יָדָיו כְּרֻתוֹת אֶל־הַמִּפְתָּן רַק דָּגוֹן נִשְׁאַר עָלָיו׃

4 And they arose early the next morning, and behold, Dagon was falling face downward to the ground, before the Ark of the Lord, and Dagon's head and the two palms of his hands were cut off, (and lying) on the threshold; only Dagon('s trunk) alone remained upon him.

העַל־כֵּן לֹא־יִדְרְכוּ כֹהֲנֵי דָגוֹן וְכָל־הַבָּאִים בֵּית־דָּגוֹן עַל־מִפְתַּן דָּגוֹן בְּאַשְׁדּוֹד עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה׃

5 Therefore, the priests of Dagon and all those who come to the house of Dagon, do not tread upon the threshold of Dagon in Ashdod until this day.

After Israelite King Saul died, the Philistines visited the Dagon Temple (I Chronicles 10:10):

יוַיָּשִׂימוּ אֶת־כֵּלָיו בֵּית אֱלֹהֵיהֶם וְאֶת־גֻּלְגָּלְתּוֹ תָּקְעוּ בֵּית דָּגוֹן׃

10And they deposited his weapons in the temple of their gods, and his skull they impaled in the temple of Dagon.

Dagon also appears as an element of personal and place names from Mesopotomia, Syria and Canaan before and after Ramesses III. While Dagon was the god of fertility and was worshipped at least in the temples of Gaza, Ashdod and Beit-Shean, the god Ba'al-Zebub (2 Kings:1) was venerated in the Philistine city of Ekron.

בוַיִּפֹּל אֲחַזְיָה בְּעַד הַשְּׂבָכָה בַּעֲלִיָּתוֹ אֲשֶׁר בְּשֹׁמְרוֹן וַיֶּחֱל וַיִּשְׁלַח מַלְאָכִים וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם לְכוּ דִרְשׁוּ בְּבַעַל זְבוּב אֱלֹהֵי עֶקְרוֹן אִם־אֶחְיֶה מַחֳלִי זֶה׃

2 Now Ahaziah fell through the lattice in his upper chamber that was in Samaria, and he became ill; and he sent messengers and said to them, "Go inquire of Baal-zebub, the god of Ekron, whether I will recover

from this illness."

3 But an angel of the Lord spoke to Elijah the Tishbite [saying], "Arise, go up toward the king of Samaria's messengers, and speak to them, [saying], 'Is it because there is no God in Israel, that you go to inquire of Baal-zebub the god of Ekron?

גּוּמַלְאַךְ יְהוָה דִּבֶּר אֶל־אֵלִיָּה הַתִּשְׁבִּי קוּם עֲלֵה לִקְרַאת
מַלְאֲכֵי מֶלֶךְ־שֹׁמְרוֹן וְדַבֶּר אֲלֵהֶם הֲמִבְּלִי אֵין־אֱלֹהִים
בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל אַתֶּם הֹלְכִים לִדְרֹשׁ בְּבַעַל זְבוּב אֱלֹהֵי עֶקְרוֹן׃

6 And they said to him, "A man came up toward us and said to us, 'Go return to the king who sent you, and you shall speak to him, [saying,] "So has the Lord said, 'Is it because there is no God in Israel that you send to inquire of Baal-zebub, the god of Ekron? Therefore, from the bed upon which you have ascended, you will not descend, for you will die.' "

וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלָיו אִישׁ | עָלָה לִקְרָאתֵנוּ וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלֵינוּ לְכוּ
שׁוּבוּ אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲשֶׁר־שָׁלַח אֶתְכֶם וְדִבַּרְתֶּם אֵלָיו כֹּה
אָמַר יְהוָה הֲמִבְּלִי אֵין־אֱלֹהִים בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל אַתָּה שֹׁלֵחַ
לִדְרֹשׁ בְּבַעַל זְבוּב אֱלֹהֵי עֶקְרוֹן לָכֵן הַמִּטָּה אֲשֶׁר־עָלִיתָ
שָּׁם לֹא־תֵרֵד מִמֶּנָּה כִּי־מוֹת תָּמוּת׃

In addition to the pottery previously discussed, terracotta vessels and figurines that are unmistakably cultic were also found in Philistine sites. The cult vessels from the initial stage of the Sea Peoples settlement in Philistia reflect the Aegean background of the Philistines (Dothan, T. 1982a). The Philistine craftsmen who fashioned these very innovative vessels were influenced by artistic and religious traditions from Egypt and Canaan.

2.7 Drink and food

The Philistines were renowned for both their production and consumption of alcoholic beverages. Numerous findings have exposed a well-managed spirits-industry. Among the artifacts unearthed from Philistine ruins are beer mugs and wine kraters (large drinking bowls). Samson's wedding feast alludes to a Philistine party (Hebrew *mishteh*, Judges 14:10)[2] or "drinking feast."

In the Aegean world, as well as other regions west of the Levant, regular consumption of pork was the norm (Lev-Tov 2006: 212). The Philistines consumed significant quantities of pork in southern Canaan, starting from the time they settled in the region (Faust and Lev-Tov 2011: 18). According to Faust and Lev-Tov (2011: 18), this was in stark contrast to the nearly total absence of pig bones from coeval bone finds in the highlands and is not explained by ecological differences.

That may also have been when the Israelites and Israelite Judges living in the highlands developed a pork-taboo and shaped their identity in contrast to the Philistines (Nelson 1998: 128; Faust and Lev-Tov 2011: 18-19, cf Finkelstein 1996a: 206). Maeir *et al.* (2013: 4-7) offered some ecological differences between Iron Age I Philistine coastal plain sites and Israelite highland sites to account for the disparity of pig-bone finds. However, they did not explain the opposite phenomenon of some Intermediate and Middle Bronze Age highland sites having more pig-bone finds than their coastal plain counterparts (Faust and Lev-Tov 2001: 18). Therefore, the

[2] Judges 14:10
10 Now his father went down concerning the woman, and Samson made there a feast, because the young men were accustomed to do so.

presence or absence of pig bones in archaeological findings helps demonstrate how pork consumption served as one of the components of ethnic boundaries.

2.8 Music

Music and musicians played an important role both in court life and in cultic ceremonies throughout the ancient Near East. Philistine festivals in Gaza's temple of Dagon included music. Cultic artifacts found in Ashdod suggest that musical instruments and singers played a prominent role in Philistine worship. Archaeological discoveries in Philistine sites included pottery, terracotta and seals that depict images of one instrument in particular: the lyre.

Braun (2002) noted that "The iconography of the lyre confirms that the elite roles were enjoyed by this instrument and by lyre players themselves with regard to cult, power and high-culture." One seal found in Tel Batash (biblical Timnah) dated to the 12th century B.C. (Braun 2002: fig. IV.24) is the oldest known representation of a strictly angular symmetrical lyre with parallel strings. A jar found in Megiddo dated to c. 1150-1000 B.C. (Loud 1948; Dothan, T. 1982a) shows a procession of animals and a single lyre player.

Musical life was widely documented in Ashdod where the famous musician stand (Braun 2002: fig. IV.32a) shows a figurine of a lyre player. This particular artifact dated to the end of the 11th century B.C. (Dothan, M. 1971) and could be portraying a Philistine family at play (Mazar, A. 1980; Devries 1987). It includes five figures playing musical instruments: cymbals, two double pipes, a stringed instrument (probably a lyre), and a tambourine. This pottery reflects a mixture of Mycenaean and Canaanite decorative traditions so characteristic of Philistine ceramics. Although the depiction of musicians was common in the Levant, this is the only known instance of an orchestra. Perhaps, like the Bible narratives about religious prophets and a band of instruments (1 Samuel 10:5)[3] or the "Levites singers" in the temple of Jerusalem (2 Chronicles 5:12)[4], the Ashdod stand musicians were part of a Philistine religious cult.

2.9 Dress and head-dress

The Philistines are also distinguishable by their dress. They wore short paneled kilts with wide borders and tassels. Above the waist was a ribbed armor over a shirt. The thin strips of the armor (made of leather or metal) were jointed in the middle of the chest and curve up. Similar armors are known from Cyprus.

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[3] 1 Samuel 10:5

5 Afterwards, you shall come to the hill of God, where there are Philistine officers, and it will be, that when you come there to the city, you will meet a band of prophets descending from the high place, and before them will be a psaltery and a drum, and a flute and a harp, and they will prophesy.

[4] 2 Chronicles 5:12

12 And the Levites who sang-all of them, Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun, and their sons and their brethren, attired in fine linen, with cymbals and with psalteries and with harps, standing east of the altar, and with them were priests-one hundred twenty sounding with trumpets.

The battle-headdress of the Sea Peoples clearly helped distinguish some of the different groups. While the Sherden wore horned helmets, the Teresh and Shekelesh wore fillet headbands. The Aegean factions like the Philistines, Denyen and Tjeker used two basic models: one with neck and face protection (fabric), an ornamental metal tiara with different variations of beads and zigzag decorations, and a row of slightly curving strips (made of feathers, reeds, leather, or horsehair) that stood upright to form a kind of diadem known as "vertical fluting" (Figure 2.3); the other with a metal tiara but no feathers (D'Amato and Salimbeti 2015: 18, 31). These models are depicted in Medinet Habu as well as grotesque coffin lids in Beit Shean, Deir el-Balah, and Tell el-Farah (South).

Figure 2.3: Philistine "feather" headdress (Medinet Habu) (after Wood 1991)

2.10 Writing

At the ruins of the Philistine seaport of Ashkelon, the Leon Levy Expedition examined 19 ceramic pieces and determined that their painted inscriptions represent a form of writing. Some of the pots and storage jars were inscribed elsewhere, probably in Crete, and brought to Ashkelon by early settlers; but one of the jars was made from local clay, meaning the Philistines inscribed this work locally. However, the Ashkelon inscriptions share similar characteristics of Linear A, the writing system used in the Aegean in the middle of the second millennium B.C. (Cross and Stager 2006: 129-59).

One of the pottery sherds found on the floor of an Ashkelon building included nine Cypro-Minoan characters and was dated to the early Philistine period (12^{th}–11^{th} centuries B.C.) (Cross and Stager 2006: 131 fig. 1) (Figure 2.4). Examples of Cypro-Minoan, which remains undeciphered, are well attested from various Late Bronze Age sites in Cyprus, Ugarit and Tiryns in the Argolid (Cline 2014: 105; Valério and Davis 2017: 131).

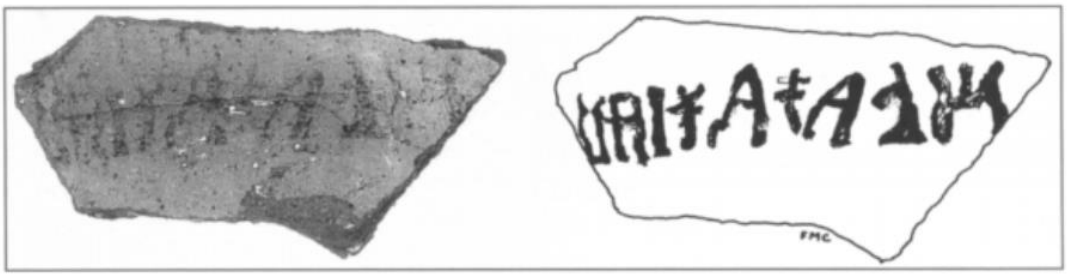

Figure 2.4: Ashkelon sherd with 12th/11th century B.C. Cypro-Minoan inscription (after Cross and Stager 2006)

Other Cypro-Minoan inscriptions were found in Tell es-Safi, or ancient Gath, another of the Philistine Pentapolis cities (Maeir *et al* 2008: 39-71). According to the Modified Conventional Chronology (Lee *et al.* 2013), they were dated from the late 11th century B.C. to the first half of the 9th century B.C.

3. Burials

Particularly unique are several finds related to Philistine burial traditions including: a) bronze bowls, b) anthropoid coffins with grotesque lids and c) the Philistine cemetery of Ashkelon.

3.1 Bronze bowls

The 37 Berzocana-type bowls found throughout the Levant (8 in Cyprus, and 29 in Canaan) seem to share an element of Aegean ritual (Zorea 2018b). Their find sites and antiquity parallel the history of the Sea Peoples, including the Philistines (and Tjeker) in Canaan. Accordingly, there were Berzocana-type bowls in Philistia in the early 12th century B.C. (see Appendix: The Bronze Bowl of Berzocana).

3.2 Anthropoid coffins with grotesque lids

Clay coffins have been dated as far back as Egypt's First Dynasty. By the 18th Dynasty (1550-1292 B.C.), anthropoid clay coffins were common in Egypt (Oren 1973: 143-4). As of 2016, more than 130 complete and fragmentary anthropoid coffins from the Late Bronze Age and early Iron Age have been found within the borders of Canaan including: Deir el-Balah (Dothan, T. 2010), Lachish (Tufnell 1953: 219 pl.126), Tell el-Farah (South) (Petrie 1930: n. 15: 6-8 pls. 19-24), Tel Shadud (Namdar *et al.* 2017: 726-733), Tel Midrash (nearby Beit Shean) (Eran 2016: 97-100), and Beit Shean (Oren 1973). The common denominator of all these cities is that they all included Egyptian garrisons in the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age. The vast majority of anthropoid coffins happened to be found in the two most important

and largest garrisons: in Philistia in Deir el-Balah (75) and in northern Canaan in Beit Shean (50) (Eran 2016: 97-100).

Scholars classified the artistic style of the coffins' lids as either "naturalistic" or "grotesque" (Fisher 1923: 234). The naturalistic lid had a well-defined head and facial features common to Egyptian coffins. The grotesque lid, in contrast, exaggerated facial features and iconography distinct from the Egyptian tradition. Two grotesque lids were found in the Philistine site of Deir el-Balah and another one in Tell el-Farah (South) (Mazar, A. 1992c: 279). For my interpretation of these, see below §5. Analysis.

3.3 Ashkelon cemetery

Ashkelon became a flourishing trading hub during the Bronze Age because of its location on the Mediterranean Sea and its proximity to Egypt, just north of Gaza, Deir el-Balah and Tell el-Farah. It was one of the Philistines' five primary cities in the 12th–11th centuries B.C.

Harvard's L. Stager headed the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon between 1985-2016 (Master and Aja 2017). Just outside the city walls of Tel Ashkelon, a cemetery was found. It uncovered a variety of Philistine burial practices in the Iron Age IIA (10th century B.C.). It also showed considerable patterns of inhumation. It shared geographic and historical connections with Azor and Tel Erani, which independently provided insufficient evidence for talking about Philistine practices. However, the discoveries at Philistine Ashkelon shed a new light on the findings in Azor and Tel Erani.

The Ashkelon cemetery's ceramic repertoire help date the site to the Iron Age IIA. While the earliest whole vessels within the cemetery point to a range from the Iron Age I/IIA transition to the end of the Iron Age IIA, broken pottery from the earlier chronology may also indicate that other Iron Age I deposits are nearby. Because of the long life of some of these objects and the limited repertoire of types found in the cemetery, the ceramics' dating could be extended from the late Iron Age I to the early Iron Age IIB or compressed somewhat into the middle of the Iron Age IIA (Master and Aja 2017: 135-159).

Others were buried with a small set of ceramics, storage jars, bowls and small jugs that may have once contained perfume. Other findings included jewelry, amulets and weapons, including arrowheads and spear points (Master and Aja 2017: 135-159). Some individuals were found wearing delicate silver earrings, as well as bronze necklaces, bracelets, and rings. A few bracelets had alternating bronze and carnelian beads and some necklaces had alternating carnelian beads and cowrie shells. While the strings that originally connected these beads had deteriorated long ago, the beads themselves stayed in their original positions. Although the cemetery has produced a large quantity of grave goods, the majority of the Philistines were buried without personal items (Sauter 2018).

The people were interred individually in oval pits and collectively in ashlar burial chamber tombs. Four of the 150 body remains were cremated, a practice known from the Aegean culture, but certainly not from the Canaanite (Master *et al*. 2011: 261-80; Master and Aja 2017:

135-59). Analysis of the findings in the Ashkelon cemetery confirmed that the "Peleset" of Egyptian texts were the "Philistines" of biblical texts (Master *et al.* 2011). The cemetery and its burials are dated 200 years after the appearance of the first Philistines in Philistia. Over that span of time, the Philistines culture was subject to change as a result of time, intermarriage and adoption of local customs. Some custom changes were longer-lasting (like the adoption of male Canaanite gods) whereas others were shorter-lived (like the use of anthropoid coffins with grotesque lids). Naturally, the 10th century B.C. cemetery's material finds would be different from earlier finds in Ashkelon.

The discovery of the 10th century B.C. cemetery, burial customs, architecture, pottery remains, and seals support the Philistines' connection to the Aegean and reflect the presence of a new population. According to Feldman *et al.* (2019: 1):

> "The ancient Mediterranean port city of Ashkelon, identified as "Philistine" during the Iron Age, underwent a marked cultural change between the Late Bronze and the early Iron Age. It has been long debated whether this change was driven by a substantial movement of people, possibly linked to a larger migration of the so-called "Sea Peoples." Here, we report genome-wide data of 10 Bronze and Iron Age individuals from Ashkelon. We find that the early Iron Age population was genetically distinct due to a European-related admixture."

4. Interpretations

There are numerous controversies regarding the archaeological finds across Canaan in terms of whether they are Philistine or not, or what they reflect about the Philistine culture. Based on the limited number of archaeological findings in Philistia, historians have proposed three controversial theories regarding the Philistines and Egyptians after the Battle of the Delta c. 1175 B.C. One claims the Philistines were mercenary soldiers who fought on behalf of Egyptian interests (Ehrlich 1996).

Another theory suggests a cordial coexistence between the Egyptians and the Philistines in Philistia and the Via Maris, the ancient route between Egypt and Mesopotamia (Dothan, T. 1998: 159-160; Barako 2007: 515). According to T. Dothan (1982b), the Philistines' and other Sea Peoples' attempted invasions of Egypt culminated in the Battle of the Delta c. 1175 B.C. After their loss, the Philistines retreated to Philistia. Around 1150 B.C. they developed a strong economy based on agricultural products such as wine and oil. Recognizing the economic value of the Via Maris between Canaan and Damascus, they attacked and defeated Egyptian garrisons and major cities along the way and destroyed Dothan, Megiddo and Beit Shean. Consequently, Egypt remained absent from Canaan until the 10th century B.C. (Dothan and Dothan 2002: 133-134).

In a slightly more tempered variation of this later 12th century B.C. expansion, Ben-Shlomo (2007: 281) observed that "the distribution of Philistine material culture expanded to the north as far as the Yarkon Basin, appearing at such sites as Tell Qasile, Azor, Tel Gerisa and possibly Aphek and Izbet Sartah." According to Bunimovitz and Lederman (2008: 28), this "expansion north and east of their original enclave… must have initiated competition and

struggle over the fertile lands and resources of the Sorek Valley." Yasur-Landau (2002: 380) thought Philistine pressure may have contributed to Canaanites withdrawing from the Shephela to the highlands. This Philistine expansion may have infringed on the boundaries of Israelite tribes creating additional tension and further conflicts.

The third theory claims the Philistines arrived in Philistia only after the Egyptians abandoned Canaan in c. 1140/1130 B.C. (Finkelstein 2007: 518).

5. Analysis

Another interpretation may help to reconcile the unfolding of events. The take-over of the Egyptian and Canaanite centers in the early 12th century B.C. was not linked to Egypt voluntarily settling foreign peoples in Canaan; instead, it was a hostile takeover by the Philistines of the coastal branch of the major trade route passing through southern Canaan as they made their way towards Egypt.

The appearance of the Philistines in Canaan defines the end of the Late Bronze Age in the region. Between c. 1200 – 1175 B.C., they invaded Egyptian territory and conquered (and sometimes destroyed) numerous towns and villages including Tel Jerishe (destruction without settlement) (Avigad 1978: 578), Jaffa (destruction without settlement) (Kaplan 1967: 116-7, 1972: 81-2; Kaplan and Kaplan 1976: 535), Gezer (destruction and settlement) (Dever *et al.* 1970: 22-6; Dever 1974: 51-4), Tel Miqne (settlement with no destruction) (Gitin and Dothan 1987: 201-2; Dothan, T. 1990: 26), Tel Mor (destruction without settlement) (Dothan, M. 1960: 111), Ashdod (destruction and settlement) (Dothan, M. 1971: 26-7; 1978: 108; 1979: 126-31), Ashkelon (destruction and settlement) (Phythian-Adams 1923: 171-6; Stager 1993: 103-12; 1995: 332-48; Stager *et al.* 2008), Deir el-Balah (settlement with no destruction) (Dothan, T. 1981: 129), Tell Jemmeh (destruction and settlement) (Van Beek 1972: 245-6; 1977: 171-6) and Tell el-Farah (South) (destruction and settlement) (Petrie 1930) (Figure 2.5).

Figure 2.5: The Philistine occupation in southern Canaan (after Wood 1991)

Additional analysis and support to help explain this takeover are presented below.

5.1 Archaeological sites

Tell el-Farah (South) was excavated in 1928 by Sir William Petrie (1930; Starkey and Harding 1932). He found a large structure (corresponding to the late 13th – early 12th centuries B.C.) which he identified as an Egyptian residence because of its architecture and the large number of Egyptian artifacts associated with it. The site was inhabited by two distinctive populations: officials and employees of the Egyptian government and indigenous residents of Canaan (Braunstein 1993: 3). The building was destroyed by a massive fire (Petrie 1930: 18). The excavation also revealed a sherd impressed with an inscription of Pharaoh Seti II (c. 1200-1194 B.C.) (Wood 1991) (Figure 2.6), evidence that the building was still in use by Egyptians early in the 12th century B.C. The Philistine pottery found in and around the building led some investigators to conclude that this building remained in use until the end of the 12th century B.C. and that the Philistines in this building were under the control of the Egyptians (Starkey and Harding 1932: 31).

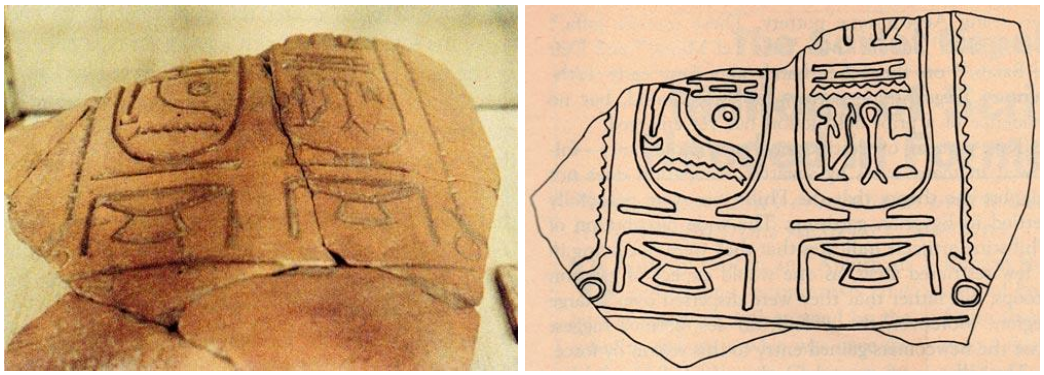

Figure 2.6: The Seti II sherd in Tell el-Farah that supports the theory of Philistine occupation (after Wood 1991)

However, a careful review of the stratigraphy of this site invalidates this theory (Wood 1991: 44-52). Given the Philistine attacks on other towns and villages, it seems more reasonable that the Philistines attacked this Egyptian residence on their campaign south towards Egypt. The Philistines occupied the building as squatters as evidenced by the: a) weak walls constructed inside the ruined building (Petrie 1930: 18), b) numerous pits dug inside and outside the building perimeter and c) Aegean-type domestic pottery finds. The pits found inside the building perimeter confirm that they were dug *after the* building changed hands.

Furthermore, the domestic pottery found in the building's entrance court would neither have been used there, nor in an adjacent open area when the Egyptians previously occupied the building. It can be concluded that the functional life of this building, as an Egyptian center, occurred *prior to* the squatter phase.

Another comparable site to Tell el-Farah (South) was found approximately 7.5 miles east of El Arish (Egypt) by the Ben-Gurion University expedition (Oren 1987: 69-119). The discovered fortress-structure was one of the Egyptian fortresses along the Horus Way and showed evidence of severe burning and destruction from the early 12th century B.C. The numerous pits inside the fortress were similar to those found in Tell el-Farah (South) and suggest it was occupied by squatters following its destruction. A pithos with an inscription of Seti II was also found, along with fragments of another similarly inscribed pithos (Goldwasser 1980: 34). In the destruction debris, a bell-shaped bowl of Mycenaean IIIC was also discovered (Oren 1987: 96).

This particular site was likely another casualty of the Philistine advance down the Horus Way towards Egypt. The stratum where the Philistine pottery and newer buildings were found is characteristic of the second half of the 12th century B.C.; therefore, the squatter phase should date to around the first half of the12th century B.C. (Wood 1985: 460-5). This pattern of destruction followed by squatter occupation does not support the theory that the Philistines were peacefully settled in Egyptian garrisons.

However, Egypt valued Philistia because a) it was prime agricultural land, b) it covered part of the Horus Way, a very important transport route to Canaan, c) many of its ports were part of Egyptian sea-routes, and d) the port-city of Gaza (Figure 2.5) was the major Egyptian administrative center for the northern territories. As such, it seems unlikely that Egypt would voluntarily transfer rule of these cities and ports, let alone that they would first destroy them and then station mercenaries there. In contrast, it seems more reasonable to deduce that the wide distribution of Philistine artifacts and the widespread destructions across the region was due to newcomers taking control of these territories by force.

In my opinion, it would have been normal for cemeteries around Egyptian garrisons (including sites along the Horus Way in southern Canaan) to have included Egyptian burials that used anthropoid coffins with naturalistic lids that honored their elites. Furthermore, it seems reasonable the Egyptians would have had a ready inventory of coffins to use as needed. Therefore, when the Philistines took over the southern garrisons, they may have briefly adopted the Egyptian anthropoid coffin tradition to honor their own elites, but used appliquéd decorations that depicted Philistines dress to distinguish them from the Egyptian burials. In other words, while the coffins were originally Egyptian, the grotesque lid decorations were likely Philistines modifications as a means of self-representation. However, this ended up being a short-lived practice. (For discussion about grotesque-lid coffins in Beit Shean, see Chapter 12.)

In contrast to Philistia, Egypt continued to populate centers in northern Canaan (e.g. Beit Shean and Megiddo) for several decades thereafter. Even after their loss to Egypt in the Battle of the Delta, the Philistines continued to live mainly in the Pentapolis (i.e. Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Ekron, and Gath). Their domain extended to include several villages like Tell el-Farah, Tell Ajul, Deir el-Balah and others. After their defeat, the Sea Peoples resettled many sites they had previously conquered (Bietak 1985: 217; Sandars 1985: 120).

5.2 Egyptian texts

Papyrus Harris I was written shortly after Ramesses III's death and documented his accomplishments throughout his 31 years of reign. It is the most complete record about the reign of any Egyptian pharaoh (Bryce 1998: 370). Column 76, lines 6-9 (Wilson 1969: 262, n.6) highlight Egypt's great victory over the Sea Peoples:

> "I extended all the frontiers of Egypt and overthrew those who attacked them from their lands. I slew the Denyen in their islands, while the Tjeker and the **Philistines** were made ashes. The Sherden and the Weshesh of the Sea were made non-existent, captured all together and brought in captivity to Egypt like the sands of the shore. I settled them in strongholds, bound in my name. Their military classes were as numerous as hundred-thousands. I assigned portions for them all with clothing and provisions from the treasuries and granaries every year."

Papyrus Harris I was not explicit regarding the location of the strongholds. However, based on their interpretation of this text, several historians (Albright 1932: 58; Alt 1953: 227-8; Wright 1959: 53-66; Noth 1960: 36; Mazar, B. 1971: 170; De Vaux 1978: 493, 509; Malamat 1979: 34; Dothan, T. 1982a: 3; 1985: 170, 172; Singer 1985: 109) theorized that Egypt employed the Philistines in military posts in Canaan as vassals or mercenaries to defend Egyptian interests.

In contrast, Wood (1991) observed that the Papyrus Harris I passage is explicit that the Philistines (and Tjeker) "were made ashes" and were not made captives. It was the other groups, the Sherden and the Weshesh, who were bound and taken captive to "strongholds" within Egypt.

Other passages in Papyrus Harris I and other texts echo similar language about the taking of captives to Egypt into servitude. For example, Papyrus Harris I (column 77, lines 3-6) describes Ramesses III's' victory over the Libyans who were enslaved and placed in strongholds in Egypt (Schulman 1964: 123, text 234):

> "I caused that they [the Libyans] cease to tread upon the border of Egypt. I carried off the ones whom my knife spared as numerous captives, their women and their children like hundreds of thousands, their herds in the number of tens of thousands, there I established their leaders in strongholds upon my name. I gave to them commanders of hosts and tribal leaders, they being branded and made into slaves, they being stamped with my name, and their women and their children being treated likewise".

Another section of Papyrus Harris I describes the treatment of nomad captives from Edom in Trans-Jordan (Wilson 1969: 262, n.6):

> "I destroyed the people of Seir [Edom] among the Bedouin tribes, I razed their tents; their people, their property, and their cattle as well, without number, pinioned and carried away in captivity, as the tribute of Egypt. I gave them to the Ennead of the gods, as slaves for their houses."

Another text from the reign of Ramesses III also speaks about the treatment given to captives (Schulman 1964: 123, text 236):

> "He causes them to cross the river, being brought to Egypt. They are placed [literally, made] in strongholds of the king. . . . They are made shield-bearers, charioteers, and retainers who bear the fan while following the king."

The captives were removed to Egypt, where they were placed in "strongholds of the king." All these texts tell us that enemy captives were *taken to Egypt*. The north wall of the first court in the Medinet Habu Temple recounts the campaign to Syria (Breasted 1906b: 71):

> "Collect the captives whom the valor of Pharaoh, life, prosperity, health, has taken, and place them [in] the offices in the house of Amon-Re . . . I have carried them away: the males thereof to fill thy storehouse; their women to be subjects to thy temple"

There is no evidence that Philistines were settled in Canaan as mercenaries. Finkelstein (1995: 226-227) notes there is nothing in Papyrus Harris I to support Egypt settling Philistines outside of Egypt proper. The Sherden, on the other hand, served as Egyptian mercenaries under Akhenaten in an Egyptian garrison in Byblos (mid-14th century B.C.) (Abbas 2017: 7-23), under Ramesses II in the Battle of Kadesh (c. 1274 B.C.) (Sandars 1978: 107), and under Ramesses III in the battles against the Sea Peoples in Egypt (c. 12th century B.C.) (Sandars 1978: 120, 125) (see Chapter 4).

6. Summary

At the beginning of the 12th century B.C., a confederation of Sea Peoples took over Canaan's shores. One of its member groups was the Philistines. After conquering Philistia, the Philistines and a multi-ethnic coalition of Sea Peoples attacked Egypt's eastern Delta by land and sea in c. 1175 B.C. However, Ramesses III successfully repelled the attacking invaders.

The archaeological finds, historical texts, and deductive analysis reinforce the major patterns of Philistine movements around Canaan. They clarify that a) Philistines conquered Egyptian garrisons in Philistia towards the beginning of the 12th century B.C. rather than serving Egypt as mercenaries in Canaan or as slaves in Egypt, b) that they shared many aspects of Aegean origin, and c) Philistines adopted local customs into their own cultural practices (be they religious or burial).

Some of the Philistines' unique burial finds included Berzocana-type bowls and grotesque coffin lids. Berzocana-type bowls attest to elite-burials of an Aegean ritual tradition. The main groups of Sea Peoples of Aegean background in the Levant were the Philistines, Tjeker and possibly the Denyen. Of the 29 Berzocana-type bowls found in numerous burial sites throughout Canaan, eleven were found in Philistian sites like Tell el-Farah (South), Deir el-Balah, Tell el-Ajul, Tel Gezer and Beit Shemesh. While Egyptian burials also included anthropoid coffins, in Deir el-Balah and Tell el-Farah (South), the Philistines adapted some with their own designs of grotesque lids.

During their later 12th century B.C. expansion period, the Philistines also dominated the nearby Israelites and took over their arable lands. According to biblical narratives Israelite

resistance increased when they reorganized from a tribal confederation into a monarchy in c. 1050 B.C. and anointed Saul their first king (Lipschits 2014). Following Saul's death c. 1010 B.C., the Israelite kingdom split in two. David was anointed King of Judah in the south and he subsequently revived the United Monarchy. Under King David's leadership and organization, the Israelites were victorious over the Philistines who maintained autonomous rule in their Pentapolis (i.e. Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Gat and Ekron).

The 10th century B.C. Philistine cemetery in Ashkelon is the most intact example of Philistine burial traditions. It clearly showed examples of how Philistine culture evolved since their arrival in the 12th century B.C., by adopting many Canaanite customs and behaviors. Even the once revered Aegean Mother Goddess was replaced with Canaanite gods like Dagon.

Egypt regained its strength and Pharaoh Siamun (986-967 B.C.) attacked Philistia towards the end of his reign (Kitchen 1996b: 282-283). He destroyed central Canaan cities like Tel Mor (port of Ashdod), Gezer and Beit Shemesh and placed Philistia under his jurisdiction (Malamat 1963: 12-13, 17; Mederos Martín 1996: 111).

Chapter 3: Denyen

Scholars who have studied the Sea Peoples have typically dedicated relatively few pages to the Denyen (Sandars 1985). The Denyen's history and assumed presence in Canaan have remained a long-standing problem. This chapter accounts for the Egyptian friezes of Medinet Habu, Papyrus Harris I, as well as textual references of various scholars, Josephus, and the Old Testament. Further attention was focused on scholarly associations of the Denyen with the Israelite tribe of Dan given their similarity in name, geography in Canaan, and historical time-frame. Many of these scholars further attributed a migration from central Canaan to northern Canaan's site of Tel Dan. These hypotheses, however, have been difficult to corroborate.

1. Origins

The Denyen's original name has been identified as DNE (Gardiner 1947: 196). According to D'Amato and Salimbeti (2015: 20), they were known by various name like Dene, Danauna, Danunites, Danaoi, Danaus, Danaids, Danai, and Danaian. "Daniuna" has been recorded on Egyptian monuments and comes from "Daniya wana," where the ending *wana* was the regular ethnic suffix in the Hittite hieroglyphic language (Yadin 1968: 17, cf Barnett 1953: 142 n.1). Regardless of their varied names, the origin of the Denyen is still uncertain (Figure 3.1).

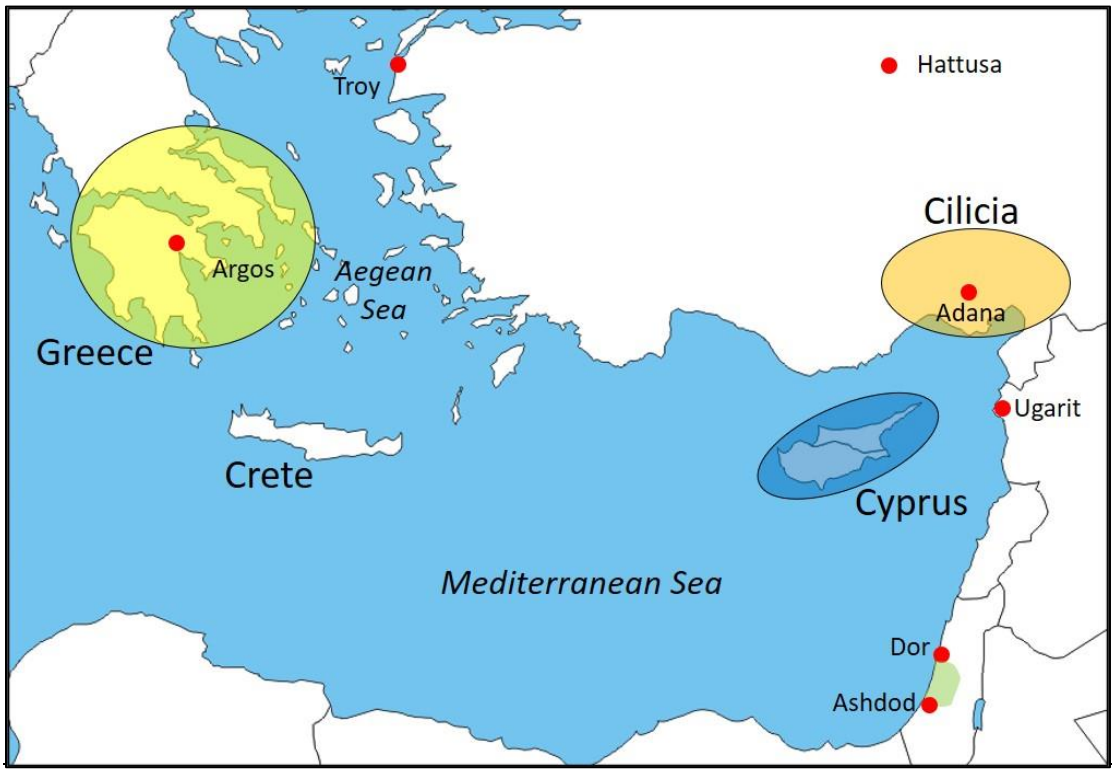

Figure 3.1: Possible regions of origin of the Denyen

Papyrus Harris I (Wilson 1969: 262, n.6) describes Ramesses III's Year 8 battles against the Sea People and states:

> "I extended all the frontiers of Egypt and overthrew those who attacked them from their lands. I slew the **Denyen** in their islands, while the Tjeker and the Philistines were made ashes."

Although Ramesses III referred to the Denyen "in their islands," he did not do so regarding the Tjeker or the Philistines. According to Wainwright (1959: 205ff), Ramesses III was referring to the islands of eastern Cilicia and not of the Aegean. According to Astour (1965: 11), on the other hand, the Egyptians would have meant sizable islands where entire nations dwelt, and that the "microscopic islets or rather skerries off the shore of Cilicia can by no means be taken into account when looking for the islands of the Danuna". Either way, there is no evidence of an Egyptian presence in either the Aegean or Cilician coast c. 1175 B.C. (Lipinski 1985: 51).

1.1 Greece

According to Greek mythology (Barnett 1953: 142), the Danai were related to the legendary Danaus, twin brother of the Egyptian King Aegyptus. Danaus refound Argos, one of the Mycenaean cities of the Peloponnese. As ruler, he called his Greek subjects Danai (Strabo: *Geog.* 8.6.9):

> "Danaus is said to have built the citadel of the Argives. He seems to have possessed so much more power than the former rulers of the country, that, according to Euripides, "'he made a law that those who were formerly called Pelasgiotæ, should be called Danai throughout Greece.'" His tomb, called Palinthus, is in the middle of the marketplace of the Argives. I suppose that the celebrity of this city was the reason of all the Greeks having the name of Pelasgiotæ, and Danai, as well as Argives."

Egyptian inscriptions from both Thutmosis III (15th century B.C.) and Amenhotep III (c. 1390-1352 B.C.) identified a country called Tanaju/Danaja (Beekes 2009: entry 6541). The Denyen may relate to the mythological Danai that have been attributed to the Mycenaean Greek mainland of those times (Kelder 2010: 125-6).

1.2 Cyprus

Cyprus' ancient name was Alashiya. Recent petrographic studies have shown that at least some, and probably all, of the Alashiya-letters found at Amarna and Ras Shamra (Ugarit) originated in Cyprus (Goren *et al.* 2004: 48-53). Luckenbill (1927: 273) pointed out an alabaster tablet from Assur which identified "Iadnana, usually and, no doubt, correctly, regarded as Cyprus, seems to be a compound meaning Isles of the Danaoi (in the Egyptian inscriptions, Denyen)." Others (Stager 1998: 157; Wainwright 1963: 151) claimed the island's name changed from Alashiya to Yadanana (or the isle of the Denyen/ Danunians/ Danoi) as evidence to

reinforce the theory that the Denyen were one of the Sea Peoples groups that landed in Cyprus prior to settling in Canaan.

However, this name change did not occur during the time of the Sea Peoples in the 12th century B.C. In fact, the alabaster tablet has been dated to the history of Assyrian king Sargon II (c. 721-705 B.C.), which is over four centuries later than the early 12th century B.C. Sea Peoples. Furthermore, the term "Yadanana" was not necessarily exclusive to Cyprus, but rather more to all the Greek islands with which the 8th century B.C. Assyrians came into contact (Hill 2010: 104-6).

1.3 Cilicia

By some accounts, the Denyen were already established northeast of Cyprus in Cilicia before 1375 B.C. (Vercoutter 1949: 193-6). In one of the 14th century B.C. Amarna Letters (*EA* 151) to Amenhotep IV/Akhenaton (c. 1360-1334 B.C.), Mayor Abimilki of Tyre mentioned a people called Danuna whose land would have been located north of Ugarit (Goetze 1962: 50).

According to the Hittite inscription of Kava found in Hattusa (near modern Boğazkale, Turkey) the Kingdom of Kizzuwatna ruled the Cilician city of Adana, or *Uru Adaniyya*, under the protection of the Hittites by 1335 B.C. In the early 13th century B.C., Kizzuwatna supplied troops to various Hittite armies, including the one which fought against Egypt at the battle of Kadesh.

The Kings of Adana were traced to the House of Mopsos and were called the Dananiyim (Wainwright 1961: 80). Other ties with Mopsos include Ramesses III's Year 5 campaign against the Libyans which mentions enemy chiefs from ancient cities in Cilicia (Yasur-Landau 2012: 33). Even the Onomasticon of Amenope[5] (c. 1100 B.C.) lists the Dene/Danuna (no. 244) in Anatolia (Redford 2018: 150).

The Ashmolean Museum (Oxford, UK) possesses a small group of Late Mycenaean (Late Helladic IIIC) sherds from Kazanli in Southern Cilicia. The appearance of Mycenaean pottery in Cilicia has often been associated with the arrival of Mycenaean/Aegean settlers following the collapse of Mycenaean civilization (c. 1200 B.C.). However, where identifiable, the Cilician Mycenaean pottery seems to display closer links with the East Aegean and Cyprus than with the Greek Mainland (Sherratt and Crouwel 1987).

Some claim that although Danuna was a 14th century B.C. kingdom, it may likely have been distinct from Aegean immigrants (DNNYM / Denyen) arriving in Cilicia at the dawn of the Hittite empire (Simon 2015: 400). Others claim "there is no evidence of the Mopsos dynasty at Adana before the 10th century BCE" and that the "Sea Peoples and their culture, however,

[5] The Onomasticon of Amenope (or Amenotep or Amenemipet), is an Egyptian administrative/ literary categorization of 610 entities from the turn of the 11th century B.C. (Tubb 1998; Cline and O'Connor 2003: 138). It is the only Egyptian composition that includes the name of its compiler or author. Nine copies of the document are known. In 1890 the first copy of the Onomasticon was discovered in a jar in Al-Hibah, Egypt together with the Tale of Wenamun and the Tale of Woe (Caminos 1977). It is one of the best-preserved copies (a Third Intermediate Period papyrus from Hibba in Middle Egypt) that was acquired by Russian Egyptologist Vladimir Golenischeff, and is therefore often also known as the Golenischeff Onomasticon.

apparently never played a dominant role in Cilicia" (Lehmann 2017: 247). Although the Karatepe Bilingual (with Phoenician and Hittite inscriptions) identifies the 8th century B.C. King Azitawadda of the Danunites as a descendent of the House of MPSH, or Mopsus (Yadin 1968: 18), it is about four centuries removed from the Sea Peoples of Medinet Habu.

2. Interpretations

The theories about the Denyen in Canaan are diverse. Some of the more often-discussed models are presented below.

2.1 Yadin model

According to Yadin (1968: 18), the Greek Danai, the Danunites of Asia Minor, and the Denyen (aka Danuna) of the Sea Peoples all belong to the same group of people who originated in the East. Gordon (1963: 21-22) claimed that Dan (Israelites), Danoi, and Danuna were all the same. Yadin (1968: 22) was slightly more reserved and raised the possibility that the Denyen and Danites were either one in the same or else they were two different tribes with similar names, who coexisted in the same central Canaan region and during the same time-period.

According to biblical narratives, the Israelite tribe of Dan was blessed by:

> Jacob - Gen. 49:16 – 18:
> "Dan will provide justice for his people as one of the tribes of Israel. Dan will be a serpent by the roadside, a viper along the path that bites the horse's heels so that its rider tumbles backward. I look for your deliverance O Lord."
>
> Moses - Deut. 33:22:
> "About Dan he said: 'Dan is a lion's cub, springing out of Bashan."

The name Dan translates as "judge," "to minister judgment," and "to plead a cause". After the Israelite conquest of Canaan, Joshua allotted the land among the twelve Israelite tribes. The land originally allotted to the tribe of Dan was a small enclave in coastal central Canaan, between Judah, Benjamin, Ephraim and Philistia (Joshua 19:40-48) (Ridling 2000: fig. 39) (Figure 3.2):

40 And the seventh lot came out for the tribe of the children of Dan according to their families.	מלְמַטֵּה בְנֵי־דָן לְמִשְׁפְּחֹתָם יָצָא הַגּוֹרָל הַשְּׁבִיעִי׃
41 And the border of their inheritance was Zorah, and Eshtaol, and 'Ir-shemesh,	מאוַיְהִי גְּבוּל נַחֲלָתָם צָרְעָה וְאֶשְׁתָּאוֹל וְעִיר שָׁמֶשׁ׃
42 And Shaalbin, and Ajalon, and Ithlah.	מבוְשַׁעַלַבִּין וְאַיָּלוֹן וְיִתְלָה׃
43 And Elon, and Thimnathah, and 'Ekron,	מגוְאֵילוֹן וְתִמְנָתָה וְעֶקְרוֹן׃
44 And Eltekeh, and Gibbethon, and Baalath,	מדוְאֶלְתְּקֵה וְגִבְּתוֹן וּבַעֲלָת׃
45 And Jehud, and Bene-berak, and Gath- rimmon,	מהוִיהֻד וּבְנֵי־בְרַק וְגַת־רִמּוֹן׃
46 And Me-Jarkon, and Rakkon, with the border opposite Joppa.	מוומֵי הַיַּרְקוֹן וְהָרַקּוֹן עִם־הַגְּבוּל מוּל יָפוֹ׃
47 And the border of the children of Dan went out from them; and the children of Dan went up and fought against Leshem, and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and possessed it, and dwelt in it,	מזוַיֵּצֵא גְּבוּל־בְּנֵי־דָן מֵהֶם וַיַּעֲלוּ בְנֵי־דָן וַיִּלָּחֲמוּ עִם־לֶשֶׁם וַיִּלְכְּדוּ אוֹתָהּ | וַיַּכּוּ אוֹתָהּ לְפִי־חָרֶב וַיִּרְשׁוּ אוֹתָהּ וַיֵּשְׁבוּ בָּהּ וַיִּקְרְאוּ לְלֶשֶׁם דָּן כְּשֵׁם דָּן אֲבִיהֶם׃

and called Leshem, Dan, after the name of Dan their father.
48 This is the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Dan according to their families, these cities with their villages.

מחזֹאת נַחֲלַת מַטֵּה בְנֵי־דָן לְמִשְׁפְּחֹתָם הֶעָרִים הָאֵלֶּה וְחַצְרֵיהֶן׃

Figure 3.2: Territories in Canaan of tribes of Israel (after Ridling 2000)

2.1.1 Early-12th century B.C. central Canaan

For a period leading up to the mid-11th century B.C. formation of the United Kingdom of Israel, the Israelite Danites were members of the loose confederation known as the twelve Israelite tribes. This confederation had no central government, and in times of crisis it was led by ad-hoc leaders known as Judges. During this period, biblical narratives recall the Danites on various occasions. For example, the Danites struggled with and ultimately prevailed over the Amorites (Judges 1:34-36):

34. And the Amorites forced the children of Dan to the mountain; for they would not let them come down to the valley.
35. And the Amorites wanted to remain on Mount Cheres, in Ayalon, and in Shaalbim; but the hand of the house of Joseph prevailed and

לדוַיִּלְחֲצוּ הָאֱמֹרִי אֶת־בְּנֵי־דָן הָהָרָה כִּי־לֹא נְתָנוֹ לָרֶדֶת לָעֵמֶק׃
להוַיּוֹאֶל הָאֱמֹרִי לָשֶׁבֶת בְּהַר־חֶרֶס בְּאַיָּלוֹן וּבְשַׁעַלְבִּים וַתִּכְבַּד יַד בֵּית־יוֹסֵף וַיִּהְיוּ לָמַס׃

they became tributary.
36. And the border of the Amorites was from Maaleh-Accrabbim, from the rock upward.

וּגְבוּל הָאֱמֹרִי מִמַּעֲלֵה עַקְרַבִּים מִהַסֶּלַע וָמָעְלָה׃

Biblical narratives (Judges 4:2) recall that Judge Deborah and Barak (her general) rallied six Israelite tribes to face Hazor's Jabin, King of Canaan:

Judges 4:2
2 And the Lord gave them over into the hand of Jabin, the king of Canaan, who reigned in Hazor; and the chieftain of his army was Sisera, and he dwelt in Harosheth-goiim.

בוַיִּמְכְּרֵם יְהוָה בְּיַד יָבִין מֶלֶךְ־כְּנַעַן אֲשֶׁר מָלַךְ בְּחָצֹור וְשַׂר־צְבָאוֹ סִיסְרָא וְהוּא יוֹשֵׁב בַּחֲרֹשֶׁת הַגּוֹיִם׃

Barak defeated King Jabin's army at the Kishon River (Judges 4:13-15) and destroyed him (Judges 4:24). However, the tribe of Dan did not participate in this battle. According to the Song of Deborah (Judges 5:17), which is also the earliest recorded sample of Hebrew poetry:

Gilead stayed beyond the Jordan.
And Dan, why did he linger by the ships?
Asher remained on the coast
and stayed in his coves

Some date this event to the early 12th century B.C. (Merrill 2008: 164). Therefore, the Danites may have been dealing with invading Sea Peoples along the central coasts, which would help explain why they were not available to aid their countrymen in northern Canaan (Yadin 1968: 13). Others were more direct in linking Dan and the Sea Peoples (Spina 1977: 62; Sandars 1978: 163-64).

2.1.2 Mid-12th century B.C. central Canaan

According to Yadin (1968: 20), the Denyen settled in mid-12th century B.C. central Canaan between the Tjeker in northern Canaan and the Philistines in southern Canaan. More specifically, he attributed the founding of the "Philistine" city of Tell Qasile stratum XII in c. mid-12th century B.C. to the Denyen. The central Canaan region was very fertile and adjacent to the Mediterranean, where fishing and commerce were available. Biblical narratives attribute this region to the Israelite tribe of Dan which according to Josephus (*Ant.* 5.1.22) ranged between Ashdod and Dor, a distance of about 60 miles. The region included: Azor, Beit Dagan, Gat Rimon and even settlements north of the Yarkon River.

2.1.3 Displacement and northern migration (c. 1110 B.C.)

According to some scholars (Yadin 1968: 20-22; Sandars 1978: 162-4; Dothan and Dothan 1992: 215-18), the relatively small territory originally allotted to the tribe of Dan before the Israelite conquest of Canaan may have been shared with the Denyen (Danuna) and the two groups assimilated with each other.

The Danite path to Laish started in Zorah and Eshtaol (Judges 18:11) through Kiriat Yearim (Camp of Dan) near Jerusalem. Then, they advanced either through the hill-country or the Jordan Valley further east to Laish which they burned (Biran 1994a: 126; Judges 18:27):

כזוְהַמָּה לָקְחוּ אֶת אֲשֶׁר־עָשָׂה מִיכָה וְאֶת־הַכֹּהֵן אֲשֶׁר
הָיָה־לוֹ וַיָּבֹאוּ עַל־לַיִשׁ עַל־עַם שֹׁקֵט וּבֹטֵחַ וַיַּכּוּ אוֹתָם
לְפִי־חָרֶב וְאֶת־הָעִיר שָׂרְפוּ בָאֵשׁ:

27 And they took that which Micah had made, and the priest whom he had; and they came to Laish, to a people tranquil and secure, and they struck them with the edge of the sword. And the city they burnt with fire.

According to Yadin (1968: 21, cf Judges 18:7, 28) it may have been either colonized by Sidonians or at least had a strong commercial connection with coastal Sidon:

זוַיֵּלְכוּ חֲמֵשֶׁת הָאֲנָשִׁים וַיָּבֹאוּ לָיְשָׁה וַיִּרְאוּ אֶת־הָעָם
אֲשֶׁר־בְּקִרְבָּהּ יוֹשֶׁבֶת־לָבֶטַח כְּמִשְׁפַּט צִדֹנִים שֹׁקֵט
וּבֹטֵחַ וְאֵין־מַכְלִים דָּבָר בָּאָרֶץ יוֹרֵשׁ עֶצֶר וּרְחֹקִים הֵמָּה
מִצִּדֹנִים וְדָבָר אֵין־לָהֶם עִם־אָדָם:

7 And the five men went, and arrived in Laish. And they saw the people that were therein dwelling in security, after the manner of the Zidonians, tranquil and secure; for there was none in the land to put them to shame for any thing; (their) heirs being few, and they were far from the Zidonians, and had no bond with any man.

כחוְאֵין מַצִּיל כִּי רָחוֹקָה־הִיא מִצִּידוֹן וְדָבָר אֵין־לָהֶם
עִם־אָדָם וְהִיא בָּעֵמֶק אֲשֶׁר לְבֵית־רְחוֹב וַיִּבְנוּ אֶת־הָעִיר
וַיֵּשְׁבוּ בָהּ:

28 And there was no one to save (them), because it was far from Zidon, and they had no bond with any man, and it was in the valley that lies by Beth-rehob. And they built the city and dwelt therein.

The Bible narrates that Danites defeated the city-defenders, took over and renamed it the city of Dan (Judges 18:29):

כטוַיִּקְרְאוּ שֵׁם־הָעִיר דָּן בְּשֵׁם דָּן אֲבִיהֶם אֲשֶׁר יוּלַד
לְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְאוּלָם לַיִשׁ שֵׁם־הָעִיר לָרִאשֹׁנָה:

29 And they called the name of the city Dan, after the name of Dan their father, who was born to Israel, but actually Laish was the name of the city at first.

2.2 Biran model

Biblical narratives noted that the Danites were eventually left without territory and that they sought new land (Judges 18:1):

אבַּיָּמִים הָהֵם אֵין מֶלֶךְ בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל וּבַיָּמִים הָהֵם שֵׁבֶט הַדָּנִי
מְבַקֵּשׁ־לוֹ נַחֲלָה לָשֶׁבֶת כִּי לֹא־נָפְלָה לּוֹ עַד־הַיּוֹם הַהוּא
בְּתוֹךְ־שִׁבְטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּנַחֲלָה:

18 In those days (there was) no king in Israel; and in those days the tribe of the Danites sought for themselves an inheritance (in which) to dwell, for until that day there had not fallen to them among the tribes of Israel an inheritance.

They founded Laish and renamed it "Dan". Josephus (*Ant.* 5.3.1) described that the Danites went out "by the neighborhood of Libanus, and the fountains of lesser Jordan, at the great plain of Sidon…". Eusebius (c. 260-340 A.D.: *Onom.* 369) defined its location 4 miles from Banias. Laish-Dan was attributed to Tel Dan (formerly known at Tell el Qadi) by Edward Robinson in 1838 (Biran 1994b: 1), and in 1849 by American officer W. Lynch (Lynch 1849: 472). The site of Tel Dan extends over 50 acres and is located at the northeast end of the Hula Valley, by the foot of Mount Hermon and the headwaters of the Jordan River. The Dan River,

one of the sources of the Jordan River, emerges at the foot of the mound, about 40 km north of the Sea of Galilee. It would have been the northern extent of the Israelite territory, strategically placed on the key trading route between Tyre and Damascus.

A. Biran (1994a: 280) directed the Tel Dan excavations between 1966 and 1999. Excavation efforts were renewed by David Ilan of the Hebrew Union College (2005-2018) (Ilan 2019: 17). (For additional findings, stratigraphy, and interpretations, see Chapter 11: East Galilee, esp. Tel Dan.)

Discoveries in Tel Dan renewed a longstanding academic debate about the Denyen/Danites. Could the findings in Tel Dan prove Yadin's theory that the Danites may have been Denyen from the Aegean or that they were displaced from their lands in central Canaan, and ended up migrating to a conveniently isolated city which they conquered? Were they related to the kingdom of Danuna mentioned in ancient Cilicia? or the Greek tribe of the Danai? or maybe with the Denyen in Egyptian inscriptions? Or maybe all these are one and the same?

Tel Dan revealed a Late Bronze Age culture and included formidable sloping earth ramparts which were considered impregnable (Biran 1994a). The city's wealth was exemplified by Tomb 387 (Biran and Ben-Dov 2002: 228), and by the large quantity of imports, including Cypriot and Mycenaean IIIA2–IIIB1 objects. Tomb 387 was the most impressive discovery of the Tel Dan excavations. With its varied contents, it constitutes the greatest source of information currently available concerning the Late Bronze Age material culture of Tel Dan (Biran and Ben-Dov 2002: 222). According to Bell (2005: 145; cf Ben-Dov 2002: 228):

> "… the parallels between this tomb and those at Ugarit in terms of construction, location within a domestic quarter and the quality and quantity of imported luxuries. She goes as far as suggesting that those interred in this tomb may have had a familial relationship with Ugarit, presumably suggesting trade links between the two family groups."

The grave goods included more than 100 ceramic vessels, many of which were imports from Mycenae, Cyprus and northern Canaan and a unique "charioteer vase" seemingly from Berbati, Argolid, Mycenae (the center of Mycenaean culture during the Bronze Age in Mycenaean III A2-B) (Gunneweg *et al.* 1992: 59-62). The Mycenean IIIA2 to early IIIB finds helps date the tomb to the late 14th – early 13th centuries B.C. (Biran 1994a: 207). It may have belonged to local Canaanite elites (Biran 1994a: 114; Biran and Ben-Dov 2002: 228).

Egyptian and Egyptian-style vessels were found in Strata VIII and VII. In most cases, Egyptian-inspired vessels from the Levant were made at the same sites where they were discovered; however, in the case of Tel Dan, petrographic analysis has shown that these vessels were probably made on the coast of Lebanon (possibly in the region of Sidon and Sarepta) and then brought to the site through trade (Ben-Dov 2011).

The later phase of stratum VII included Egyptian cooking pots and practice arrowheads made of bone that also looked Egyptian. R. Ben-Dov (2011) doubted there was an Egyptian garrison at Tel Dan since it lacked specialty wares like flower pots and beer bottles that were common at other Egyptian sites.

Stratum VII was destroyed by fire. According to Ilan (2008: 90), the next stratum VI included pits or silos, some of which were stone-lined and over 2 meters deep. The pits included large pithoi for food storage and were well known from Israelite settlements in the northern hill country and Judah (Biran 1989: 71-96). Neutron activation analysis of these large jars show some were manufactured locally while others came from other parts of the country (Yellin and Gunneweg 1989: 133-41). Pit 1225 included Galilean-type pithoi that were typological descendants of northern Canaanite pithos (like in Hazor) common in the Late Bronze Age. The material culture represented by these pits was different from the findings in the previous stratum. It represented a semi-nomadic population living in tents and huts.

According to Biran (1989: 73) stratum V's contents were similar to other 11th century B.C. sites (i.e. Hazor XI, Beit Shean VIA, and Afula IIIA) and were already in use for one or two generations, perhaps more. Unlike the larger amphoras and pithoi unearthed in stratum VI, stratum V included a larger number and greater variety of smaller vessels, indicating the adoption of a more sedentary way of life. Another destruction layer was found above stratum V.

Biran (1989: 75) dated the urban civilization of stratum VII to the 13th century B.C. and the semi-nomadic culture of stratum VI to the first half of the 12th century B.C. (Biran 1994b: 1-17). Since collared-rim jars were found in Tel Dan for the first time in stratum VI and were common in Shiloh, Sai, Bethel, Tell el Ful, Giloh, Izbet Sartah and other Israelite sites, Biran (1989: 83) thought it could well be that the tribe of Dan came across and adopted this novel storage jar design on its northward migration from central Canaan (Figure 3.3).

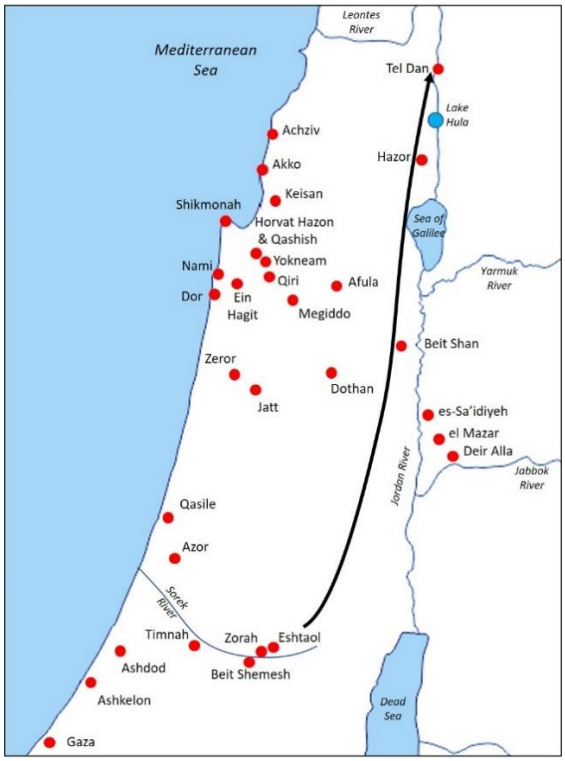

Figure 3.3: Theorized migration of the tribe of Dan to northern Tel Dan

Biran noted that this also agreed with the biblical Danites being nomadic in their migration (Judges 18:21):

21 And they turned and departed, and put the little ones, the cattle, and the goods before them.

כאוַיִּפְנוּ וַיֵּלֵכוּ וַיָּשִׂימוּ אֶת־הַטַּף וְאֶת־הַמִּקְנֶה וְאֶת־הַכְּבוּדָה לִפְנֵיהֶם׃

2.3 Dothan model

Unlike Yadin, T. Dothan (1982a: 57) and A. Mazar (1992a: 311) attributed the founding of Tell Qasile to the Philistines, not the Denyen. After reviewing Yadin's theory, M. Dothan (1989a: 171) acknowledged that the tribe of Dan was part of the Israelite conquest of Canaan; that the 12th century B.C. Danites intermixed with another ethnic group of the invading Sea Peoples, the Denyen. He also claimed that part of the tribe remained in the central Canaan and did not accompany those who migrated north to Laish. He based these conclusions on his finds in Azor (Figure 3.4).

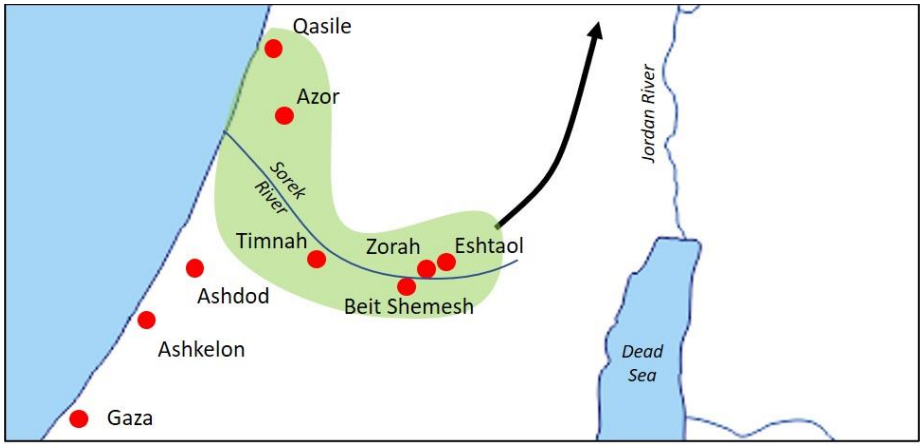

Figure 3.4: Central Canaan sites - Possible presence of Denyen and Danites and migration north

Discoveries in Azor extend from the Chalcolithic age to the period of the Crusaders. In 1959, a necropolis dating back to the "Israelite period" was identified (Dothan, M. 1989a: 164-74), and in 1960 a cremation-type tomb showing signs of fire was discovered and labeled "D63" (Ben-Shlomo 2008a: 39, fig. 12) (Figure 3.5). Cremation burials with such structures are not known in the Levant (*ibid.*, 40). According to M. Dothan (1989a: 171-2), this tomb and its finds belonged to the Denyen and reinforced the theory that they occupied central Canaan.

Figure 3.5: Cremation burial D63, during excavation in Azor (after Ben-Shlomo 2008a)

D63 showed signs of fire and included objects common to the Aegean material culture. It contained a bronze bowl (D63/7) with a slightly inverted rim, rounded body, flat and graded interior and a delicate ring base (Dothan, M. 1989a: 167: fig. 12 and 169: fig 19; Ben-Shlomo 2008a: 46, fig. 21:1; 2012: 157, 159). The tomb also contained, among other items, a gold mouthpiece (D63/9) (Dothan, M. 1989a: 168: figs. 15-16) (Figure 3.6) and a pilgrim flask (Figure 3.7) with concentric circles (D63/8) (Dothan, M. 1989a: 167: figs. 13-14).

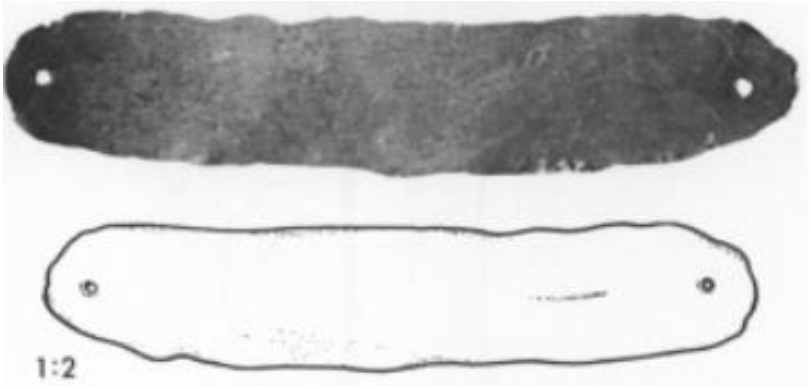

Figure 3.6: Azor - Gold mouthpiece (after Dothan, M. 1989a)

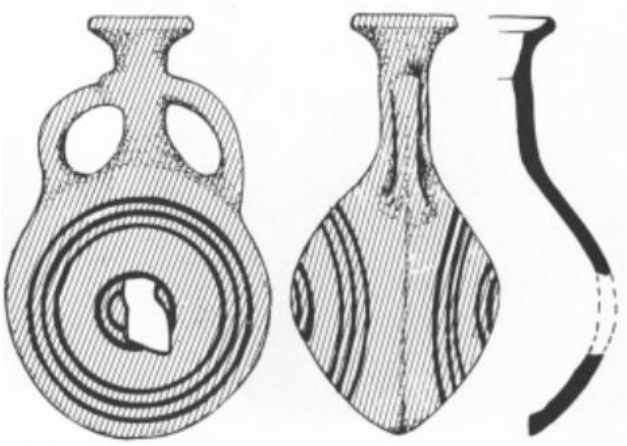

Figure 3.7: Azor - Pilgrim flask with concentric circles (after Dothan, M. 1989a)

According to M. Dothan, these findings reinforced the theory of an Aegean presence in and around Azor. According to Ben-Shlomo (2008: 32, 40), besides D63, Azor included two other cremation graves. This is significant because cremation was not practiced by Egyptians, Israelites, Philistines or Tjeker. Therefore, it is likely that D63, which contained numerous Aegean objects, belonged to a new group of Aegeans who did practice cremation (see Chapter 15: Mycenaeans). However, in contrast to M. Dothan, Ben-Shlomo (2008: 51) claimed that "the isolated examples of cremation burials cannot indicate distinct connections with Aegean or Cypriote funerary traditions…"

2.4 Other models

Other models regarding a northern migration do not include the Denyen and focus strictly on the Danites and/or Tel Dan.

2.4.1 Stager model

Stager (1998: 167) dismissed the notion that the sea-faring Danites of Israel were originally "a member of the Sea Peoples' confederation, to be identified with the Danaans of Homer and the Denyen in Rameses III's inscription". He also discounted the involvement of Sea Peoples in the Song of Deborah. According to Stager (1995: 348), as Egyptian control in Canaan waned, Philistines expanded beyond the Pentapolis and this created tension between them and their Israelite neighbors. Stager (1998: 167) believed the Philistines expanded into the Joppa region and founded Tell Qasile in c. 1150 B.C. and that was what displaced Danites out of the coastal area. Some of these Danites migrated north to Laish (Tel Dan) and destroyed Canaanite Tel Dan stratum VIIa (Stager 1998: 131).

2.4.2 Wood model

According to Wood (2003: 275-77), "The most likely event that would have occasioned the displacement of Danites was the incursion of the Philistines into the southwest coastal plain in the eight year of Ramesses III, ca. 1177 B.C.", and then these biblical Danites (Judges 18:7, 28) were responsible for burning Canaanite Tel Dan stratum VII.

2.4.3 Ilan model

Ilan (2019) reported on the extensive finds in Tel Dan. Unlike Biran's conclusions, Ilan (2019: 635) down-dated the start of stratum VI to c. 1140/1130 B.C. claiming that Egypt abandoned its stronghold and that the remaining inhabitants included Egyptians (cooking pots), Aegean mercenaries (Aegean pottery), and nomads ("Canaanite" pithoi, pits). Regarding the c. 1000 BC wholesale destruction of stratum V, Ilan (2019: 638) wrote that "It is tempting to suggest that memory of this destruction informed the account of Laish's destruction by the Danites in Judges 18. But this is only speculation."

3. Analysis

As noted in Chapter 1, Egyptian sources identify the confederated Sea Peoples (including the Denyen, Philistines, Tjeker) at the Battle of the Delta against Egypt in c. 1175 B.C. Other archaeological finds and textual references place the Philistines, Tjeker and Sherden in Canaan at the end 12th century B.C. (but not the Denyen).

3.1 12th century B.C. Denyen in central Canaan

3.1.1 Onomasticon of Amenope

Scholars (Yadin 1968: 20; Sandars 1978: 162-4; Dothan and Dothan 1992: 215-18) interpreted the Onomasticon of Amenope such that the Tjeker were present in northern Canaan, the Philistines were in southern Canaan and the Denyen occupied the area in between, or central Canaan. They considered that the Bible (Joshua 19:40-48) seems to describe the Danite allotment of territory in central Canaan, and that according to Josephus (*Ant.* 5.1.22) the Danites occupied central Canaan between Ashdod and Dor. These scholars, noting an apparent overlap between the regions of the Denyen and the similarly sounding Danites, therefore suggested the two groups may have either coexisted or assimilated with each other.

Yadin's model can be summarized in the table below (Figure 3.8). The first two columns indicate his suggested chronology of events, whereas the last two columns represent the textual and/or archaeological references he interpreted to help derive his conclusions.

Period (B.C.)	*Event*	*Textual ref.*	*Archaeological ref.*
Pre-1175	Egyptian Denyen = Anatolian Danunites = Greek Danai	Astour 1965	
Pre-1175	Danites occupied central Canaan	Joshua 19:40-48; Josephus (*Ant.)*	
Early 12th century	Denyen may have mixed with the Danites	Judges 5 (Song of Deborah)	
c. 1175	Denyen were part of coalition of Sea Peoples who battled Egypt; Ramesses III slew the Denyen	Medinet Habu ("Their confederation was the Peleset, Tjeker, Shekelesh, Denyen and Weshesh, lands united"); friezes depict Sea Peoples in feathered-headdress Papyrus Harris I ("I slew the Denyen in their islands")	
c. 1150	Denyen occupied the region between Dor (north) and Philistia (south) Denyen founded Tell Qasile stratum XII	Medinet Habu (Phlistines/Tjeker/Denyen)*;* Onomasticon of Amenope (Tjeker, 269; Peleset, 270) Tale of Wenamun (Tjeker in Dor)	Tell Qasile stratum XII
c. 1100	Other Sea Peoples conquered Tell Qasile from Denyen; Denyen/Danites were displaced from central Canaan, migrated north and conquered Laish	Judges 18 (600 Danites conquered Laish)	Tell Qasile stratum XI

Figure 3.8: Chronology of Denyen/Danites in Canaan (after Yadin 1968)

However, although the Onomasticon mentions the Philistines (no. 270) and Tjeker (no. 269) close to each other (presumably in Canaan), there is no textual evidence that puts the Denyen in Canaan around this time. In contrast, the Onomasticon does list the Dene/Danuna (no. 244) who are attributed to a different grouping in Anatolia, not Canaan (Redford 2018: 150-1). This may reinforce the idea that there were no Denyen in c. 1100 B.C. central Canaan.

3.1.2 Denyen and Danites

There is no archaeological proof of late-12th century B.C. Denyen interacting with and assimilating with Danites in central Canaan, let alone distinctive archaeological evidence to support a Danite presence in central Canaan. Is there any textual support that might help to connect the two?

Some scholars have compared the Israelite Judge and hero Samson with Denyen tribal legends (Galpaz-Feller 2006) and mythological Greek sun-heroes like Hercules or Perseus (Yadin 1968). According to biblical narratives, Samson was born in the Sorek Valley which served as the border between the territories allotted to the tribes of Dan and Judah (Judges 13:24-25):

כדוַתֵּלֶד הָאִשָּׁה בֵּן וַתִּקְרָא אֶת־שְׁמוֹ שִׁמְשׁוֹן וַיִּגְדַּל הַנַּעַר וַיְבָרְכֵהוּ יְהוָה׃

24 Samson was from Sorek born in Zorah
And the woman bore a son and called his name Samson; and the lad grew, and the Lord blessed him.

כהוַתָּחֶל רוּחַ יְהוָה לְפַעֲמוֹ בְּמַחֲנֵה־דָּן בֵּין צָרְעָה וּבֵין אֶשְׁתָּאֹל׃

25 And the spirit of the Lord began to come to him at times in the camp of Dan; between Zorah and Eshtaol.

Samson maintained close ties with the Philistines, one of the Sea Peoples, and visited various Philistine cities. His marriages to two Philistine women living in the Sorek Valley (Judges 14:1-3, 16:4) reinforced the assimilation between Philistines and Danites:

Judges 14:1-3

אוַיֵּרֶד שִׁמְשׁוֹן תִּמְנָתָה וַיַּרְא אִשָּׁה בְּתִמְנָתָה מִבְּנוֹת פְּלִשְׁתִּים׃

1 And Samson went down to Timnath; and he saw a woman in Timnath of the daughters of the Philistines.

בוַיַּעַל וַיַּגֶּד לְאָבִיו וּלְאִמּוֹ וַיֹּאמֶר אִשָּׁה רָאִיתִי בְתִמְנָתָה מִבְּנוֹת פְּלִשְׁתִּים וְעַתָּה קְחוּ־אוֹתָהּ לִי לְאִשָּׁה׃

2 And he came up, and told his father and mother, and said, "I have seen a woman in Timnath of the daughters of the Philistines; so now take her to me for a wife."

גוַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ אָבִיו וְאִמּוֹ הַאֵין׀ בִּבְנוֹת אַחֶיךָ וּבְכָל־עַמִּי אִשָּׁה כִּי־אַתָּה הוֹלֵךְ לָקַחַת אִשָּׁה מִפְּלִשְׁתִּים הָעֲרֵלִים וַיֹּאמֶר שִׁמְשׁוֹן אֶל־אָבִיו אוֹתָהּ קַח־לִי כִּי־הִיא יָשְׁרָה בְּעֵינָי׃

3 And his father and mother said to him, "Is there no woman among the daughters of your brothers and among all my people that you go to take a wife from the uncircumcised Philistines?" But Samson said to his father, "Take her for me, because she is pleasing in my eyes."

Judges 16:4

דוַיְהִי אַחֲרֵי־כֵן וַיֶּאֱהַב אִשָּׁה בְּנַחַל שׂוֹרֵק וּשְׁמָהּ דְּלִילָה׃

4 And it was afterwards, that he loved a woman by the brook of Sorek, and her name was Delilah.

In contrast, he had more experiences in southern Canaan Philistine sites. He slew a lion with the jawbone of an ass, captured three-hundred foxes, and incurred his wrath in Ashkelon (Judges 14:19):

יטוַתִּצְלַח עָלָיו רוּחַ יְהוָה וַיֵּרֶד אַשְׁקְלוֹן וַיַּךְ מֵהֶם שְׁלֹשִׁים אִישׁ וַיִּקַּח אֶת־חֲלִיצוֹתָם וַיִּתֵּן הַחֲלִיפוֹת לְמַגִּידֵי הַחִידָה וַיִּחַר אַפּוֹ וַיַּעַל בֵּית אָבִיהוּ׃

19 And there rested upon him a spirit of the Lord, and he went down to Ashkelon, and killed of them thirty men, and he took their clothing and gave the suits to those who had told the riddle; but his anger was kindled, and he went up to his father's house.

He had ties with a harlot in Gaza (Judges 16:1):

אוַיֵּלֶךְ שִׁמְשׁוֹן עַזָּתָה וַיַּרְא־שָׁם אִשָּׁה זוֹנָה וַיָּבֹא אֵלֶיהָ׃

1 And Samson went to Gaza, and saw there a harlot, and came to her.

And he was imprisoned and tortured in Gaza (Judges 16:21):

כאוַיֹּאחֲזוּ פְלִשְׁתִּים כאוַיְנַקְּרוּ אֶת־עֵינָיו וַיֹּרִידוּ אֹתוֹ עַזָּתָה וַיַּאַסְרוּהוּ בְּנְחֻשְׁתַּיִם וַיְהִי טוֹחֵן בֵּית הָאֲסִירִים (הָאֲסִירִים כתיב)׃

21 And the Philistines seized him, and gouged out his eyes. And they brought him down to Gaza, and bound him with copper chains, and he did grind in the prison house.

However, the Bible does not make any explicit references to the Denyen. Nonetheless, is it possible that the “Philistines” of central Canaan with whom Samson had more positive

experiences were the Denyen, and those harsher experiences of southern Canaan were with another group of Sea Peoples known as the Peleset/Philistines?

3.2 11th century B.C. cremation burials with Aegean finds

3.2.1 Central Canaan (Azor D63)

As described above (§2.3), while M. Dothan (1989a: 170-72) attributed 11th century B.C. Azor D63's finds (e.g. pottery, gold mouth-piece) to the Aegean influences and the Sea Peoples, the element of cremation was unique and not found in Tjeker areas to the north or Philistine areas to the south. As such, it may have served as a distinguishing practice of newcomers, which M. Dothan attributed to the Denyen.

One item in Azor D63's finds is particularly interesting and important. The bronze bowl (D63/7) had a slightly inverted rim, rounded body, flat and graded interior and a delicate ring base (Dothan, M. 1989a: 167: fig. 12 and 169: fig 19; Ben-Shlomo 2008a: 46, fig. 21:1; 2012: 157, 159; Torres Ortiz 2012: 456-7; Zorea 2018b: 349-50) (Figure 3.9). This bowl's shape is very similar to the bowl found in Berzocana, Extremadura, Spain and other comparable bowls found in Aegean tombs across Cyprus and Canaan (see Appendix). What makes Azor D63's bowl so important, therefore, is that it further reinforces this tomb's Aegeanized nature.

Figure 3.9: Azor - Berzocana-type bowl (after Ben-Shlomo 2008a)

3.2.2 Argolid and Cyprus (Kourion-Kaloriziki tomb 40)

While Azor D63's Aegeanized cremation burial was unique to Canaan, does it have any parallels elsewhere? As discussed further in Chapter 15 (Mycenaeans), in the latter half of the LH IIIC period (i.e. late 12th – mid-11th century B.C.) some Aegeans in Mycenae and Argos adopted the practice of cremating their honored elites (Rutter 2017a). According to Rutter (2017a), this practice is "generally considered to have been introduced into the Aegean world from the east, possibly from Anatolia (cf. the cremation cemetery of Troy VIh, the presence of numerous cremations in Mycenaeaizing chamber tombs at Müskebi near Bodrum on the west Anatolian coast, and Hittite burial customs)."

Seven 11th century B.C. cremation tombs were found in two southwestern parts of Cyprus: Kourion and Palaepaphos (Matthäus and Schumacher-Matthäus 2015: 89). Herodotus

(5.113) and Strabo (14.6.3) claimed that Greeks from Argos founded Kourion (Latin: *Curium*) (Tsetskhladze 2006: 81). It was founded in the late 12th century B.C. and was an important ancient city-state west of Limasol (McFadden and Sjöqvist 1954: 134).

The most important cremation tomb in Cyprus was Kourion-Kaloriziki tomb 40. It contained a wealth of bronze objects, military equipment, Aegean pottery decorated with triangles (Figure 3.10) and wavy lines (Figure 3.11) (McFadden and Sjöqvist 1954: pl. 23, fig. 17.4 and 18.5), and an urn with the cremated remains of a middle-aged woman.

Figure 3.10: Kourion-Kaloriziki tomb 40 – Aegean-style two-handled deep bowl with triangles (after McFadden and Sjöqvist 1954)

Figure 3.11: Kourion-Kaloriziki tomb 40 – Aegean-style amphora with wavy lines (after McFadden and Sjöqvist 1954)

According to Matthäus and Schumacher-Matthäus (2015: 89), "The burial rites – cremation, burial of a pair, amphoroid metal kraters as urns – are unique in Cyprus at that time." Catling (1964: 244) wrote: "Its occupiers may have been the first-generation emigrants from the Aegean."

Farther to the west of Kourion, the other site in Cyprus with cremation tombs was nearby Palaepaphos-Skales. It is interesting to note that Palaepaphos-Skales also included two other tombs (#49 and #79) that each included a Berzocana-type bowl, similar to the one in Azor and in other burials across Cyprus and Canaan (see Appendix).

3.3.3 Denyen vs Danai

According to Lemos (2002: 193):

> "It is beyond question, however, that both the tradition and the archaeological record, supported by the linguistic evidence, reflect movement of people during the course of the Late Helladic IIIC and SM periods. Some of the Aegean regions were abandoned, while others were populated and then destroyed or abandoned again. People went as far as Cyprus and Cilicia looking for better and safer places to live (Desborough 1964: 205-6; 1972: 23-4). This mobility is well documented in the archaeological record and had an important effect in the crystallization of conditions in the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean at the end of the Late Bronze Age."

These previously-mentioned cremation burials were a unique and minority practice that gained popularity in late-12th century B.C. Argolid, appearing with or nearby other first half of 11th century B.C. Aegeanized contexts in Cyprus (Palaepaphos-Skyles and Kourion) and Canaan (Azor).

Greek legends claim that King Danaus came from the East to refound Argos, and so his descendants were both Danai and Argives (Yadin 1968: 18). Herodotus (5.113) and Strabo (14.6.3) claimed that Greeks from Argos founded Kourion (Latin: *Curium*) (Tsetskhladze 2006: 81) (Figure 3.12). Is it possible that the same late 12th century B.C. group of people who practiced cremation burials in the Argolid founded Kourion and were responsible for the 11th century B.C. Kourion-Kalorizki's Aegeanized cremation tomb 40 as well as Azor's Aegeanized cremation tomb D63?

According to Yadin (1968: 18), the Greek Danai, the Danunites of Asia Minor, and Egypt's accounts of the Denyen (aka Danuna) of the Sea Peoples were all part of the same group of people. Does this mean that the Denyen were therefore responsible for 11th century B.C. Azor D63 (Dothan, M. 1989a) and Kourion-Kaloriziki tomb 40? Not necessarily. These cremation tombs date about 100 years (or more) after the c. 1175 B.C. battles of Egypt versus the Sea Peoples (and Denyen), when there was no active tradition of cremation among Aegeanized burials. Therefore, cremation burials were not a likely part of the early 12th century B.C. Denyen's cultural practices.

It is not known whether the c. 1175 B.C. Denyen in the Argolid went on to adopt cremation themselves by the end of the century, or whether foreigners (likely from the Anatolian coast) imported this practice to the Argolid, assimilated it with Aegeanizing traditions, and exported it to Cyprus and Canaan. Therefore, for the time being, those who may have been responsible for tomb 40 and D63 may have come from the Argolid or Cyprus, but were not necessarily "Denyen".

Period (B.C.)	*Event*	*Source*	*Textual ref.*	*Archaeological ref.*
Late 12th/11th century	Inhabitants of Mycenae and Argos adopted cremation	Rutter 2017a		Mycenae; Argos
Late 12th/11th century	Inhabitants from Argos/Argolid founded Kourion (Cyprus)		Herodotus (5.113) and Strabo (14.6.3)	
1st half 11th century	Finds in Kourion-Kaloriziki cremation tomb 40 were attributed to Aegean culture	McFadden and Sjöqvist 1954 Matthäus and Schumacher-Matthäus 2015		7 cremation tombs in **southwestern Cyprus** (Kourion and Palaepaphos) (incl. Kourion-Kaloriziki tomb 40)
	Finds in Azor cremation tomb D63 were attributed to Aegean culture	Dothan, M. 1989a		3 cremation tombs in **central Canaan** (Azor)

Figure 3.12: Aegeanized cremation tombs

3.3 Displacement/migration

Y. Yadin and M. Dothan provided theories about the presence of Denyen in central Canaan after their battle with Egypt in c. 1175 B.C. Yadin predicated the Denyen presence on their founding of Tell Qasile c. 1150 B.C. and that they were later displaced by other Sea Peoples. M. Dothan claimed that while some Denyen were displaced, others remained as evidenced by the 11th century B.C. Azor cremation tomb D63.

Biran, the Dothans, Stager and Wood thought that Danites were responsible for the destruction of Canaanite Tel Dan (stratum VII). Wood dated that event to c. 1177 B.C. when the Sea Peoples invaded the southern Levant and battled with Egypt. Biran, the Dothans and Stager attributed the Danite migration to a Philistine expansion. Biran and Stager dated this expansion to the first half of the 12th century B.C. as a consequence of Egyptian withdrawal from Canaan, and the Dothans dated it to c. 1130 B.C. reflecting a more ambitious Philistine strategy.

However, Ilan noted that Canaanite Tel Dan converted into an Egyptian stronghold in the early/mid-13th century B.C. and that its end (stratum VIIa) was due to Egypt's abandonment of Canaan c. 1140/1130 B.C. Using his interpretation and revised chronology, the previous interpretations (of Danites conquering Tel Dan in the first half of the 12th century B.C.) are outdated. Furthermore, Ilan's speculation about Danites being responsible for Tel Dan's destruction c. 1000 B.C. seems to coincide more with the possible period of King David than anything previously proposed with the Sea Peoples/Denyen.

These different theories are summarized below (Figure 3.13). Even though some share certain similar aspects, there is still insufficient information to confidently side with any one individually.

Author	*Year*	*Period (B.C.)*	*Who was displaced from central Canaan?*	*Displaced by*	*Who conquered Laish-Dan in northern Canaan*
Yadin	1968	c. 1100	Denyen/Danites	Other Sea Peoples	n/a
Biran	1974	First half 12th century			Danites
Dothan, M.	1989a	11th century	Denyen remained in Azor	n/a	n/a
Dothan and Dothan	1992	c. 1130	Canaanites and Israelites	Philistines	n/a
Stager	1995: 344 1998: 131	c. 1175-1150	Israelites/ Danites	Philistines	Danites
Wood	2003	c. 1177	Danites	Philistines	Danites
Ilan	2019	c. 1000			(Danites?)

Figure 3.13: Various theories about the presence/displacement of Denyen and/or Danites from central Canaan and conquest of Tel Dan

For an alternative interpretation of an Aegean presence in northern Canaan in and after c. 1130 B.C., see Chapters 6-13. For an alternative interpretation of the Aegean objects found in Tel Dan strata VI and V, see Chapter 11: East Galilee, esp. Tel Dan.

4. Conclusion

Although Medinet Habu's inscriptions named invading Denyen and depicted Sea Peoples with feathered-headdress in Egypt's battles c. 1175 B.C., according to Papyrus Harris I Ramesses III slew the Denyen.

In spite of the similarity in the names of the Denyen and the Israelite Danites, and the numerous theories developed over the past decades, there is no evidence of the two groups merging with each other, being displaced from central Canaan, and becoming a nomadic group that moved north to Tel Dan. There is no textual or archaeological evidence of their presence in Canaan after the battles with Egypt in c. 1175 B.C.

It is possible that some Danai of Argos (Greece) migrated east in the late 12th century B.C., founded Kourion (Cyprus) and were responsible for Kourion-Kaloriziki's cremation tomb 40 and others. It is also possible that some of these inhabitants or other Argives reached late-12th–11th century B.C. Azor and were responsible for its cremation graves. Were the 11th century B.C. Aegeans who practiced cremation in central Canaan related to the early 12th century B.C. Denyen who battled Egypt? The current evidence is still too thin to answer that with more confidence and that remains to be seen.

Chapter 4: Sherden

The Sherden have been commonly depicted as mercenary warriors who were part of the Sea Peoples who attacked the Levant in the Late Bronze Age. Based on their interpretations of the Onomasticon of Amenope (c. 1100 B.C.), many scholars placed the Sherden in northern Canaan and the Akko Valley, north of the Tjeker stronghold in Dor. This chapter reevaluates these perspectives. It evaluates the Sherden origins in Sardinia, their expansion beyond the island, their presence in the Levant, and their relationships with other Sea Peoples, especially during the 12th–10th centuries B.C.

Three pharaohs recorded their conflicts and victories over the Sea Peoples: Ramesses II (c. 1279-1213 B.C.), his son and successor Merneptah (c. 1213-1203 B.C.), and Ramesses III (c. 1186-1155 B.C.). All claimed great victories over their adversaries and their inscriptions provide the most detailed evidence about the Sherden and other Sea Peoples. Certain reasonable hypotheses will be presented to help fill some historical gaps. The hypotheses are based on evidence that has been reinterpreted.

1. Description

1.1 Name

The earliest known mention of the people called *Srdn-w*, more usually called Sherden or Shardana, is generally attributed to the "še–er–ta–an–nu" people in the Amarna letters correspondence (*EA* 81, *EA* 122, *EA* 123) written by Rib-Hadda mayor of Byblos to the Pharaoh Amenhotep III and Akhenaten in the 14th century B.C. (Moran 1992: 150-1, 201-2).

Subsequent texts referring to the Sherden or Shardana date from between the 13th–12th centuries B.C. and have ranged from as far north as Ugarit, to as far south as Egypt. One of most famous references about the Sea Peoples and the Sherden comes from Papyrus Harris I. It was written shortly after the death of Ramesses III, detailing his accomplishments throughout his 31 years in power, and represents the most complete record about the reign of any Egyptian Pharaoh (Bryce 1998: 370). Column 76, lines 6-9 (Wilson 1969: 262, n.6), describes Ramesses III's Year 8 battles against the Sea People and states:

> "I extended all the frontiers of Egypt and overthrew those who attacked them from their lands. I slew the Denyen in their islands, while the Tjeker and the Philistines were made ashes. The **Sherden** and the Weshesh of the Sea were made non-existent, captured all together and brought in captivity to Egypt like the sands of the shore. I settled them in strongholds, bound in my name. Their military classes were as numerous as hundred-thousands. I assigned portions for them all with clothing and provisions from the treasuries and granaries every year."

1.2 Characterization

The Sherden were known since the time of Amenhotep III (1386-1353 B.C.) as mercenaries (Barnett 1975: 368). Ramesses II fought against the Sherden and subsequently incorporated them into his armed forces (O'Connor 2000: 112-113). As his body-guards they were depicted as beardless, wearing corselets and kilts and bearing Naue II swords and round shields (Breasted 1906c: 3, fig. 2) (Figure 4.1). Between the 14th–11th centuries B.C, the round shield was a typical element of the armor of the Sardinian warriors. Later this kind of shield spread among other people in the Mediterranean.

Figure 4.1: Sherden mercenaries - Ramesses II's guard (based on a relief in Abu Simbel) (after Breasted 1906c)

The Sherden's distinctive main feature was their helmet (sometimes held under the chin with a chinstrap) ornamented with large bull's horns and at times with a large knob or disk at its apex. D'Amato and Salimbeti (2015: 17) gathered 22 variations of the Sherden horned-helmets from different Egyptian reliefs (nine of them without the disc) (Figure 4.2). They include four images from Luxor and Abu Simbel (c. 1280 B.C.), and 18 images from Medinet Habu (c. 1175 B.C.).

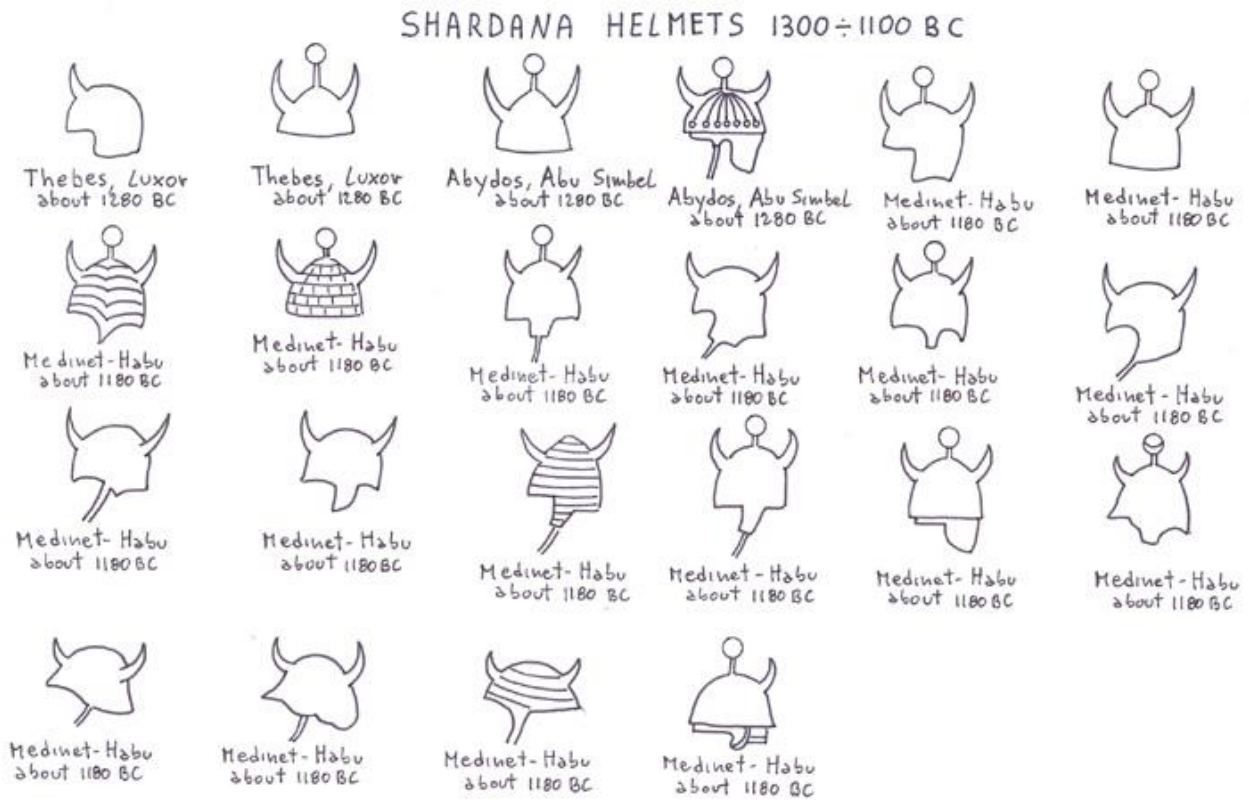

Figure 4.2: Sherden helmets 1300-1100 B.C. (after D'Amato and Salimbeti 2015)

It has been suggested that the depictions in the Egyptian freezes are similar to the statuettes found in Cyprus and Sardinia (Araque Gonzalez 2012: 83-109).

2. Origins

There is limited textual archaeology about the Sherden in general, and none that explicitly documents their origins. However, the available evidence strongly points to Sardinia. Comparative analysis of Egyptian iconography and Sardinian bronzes determined that the Egyptian Shardana were the Sardinian Nuragics (Ugas 2016):

> "The Shardana, the first mercenaries of the Pharaohs - then identified from ancient sources to be one of the Sea-People – those that destroyed the Hittite empire, and attacked the Egyptians, are the Sardinians who gave life to the Nuragic civilization in the Bronze Age."

Since about 1800 B.C., Sardinia (the second largest island in the Mediterranean Sea) was inhabited by the Nuragic people. They were named after the tower-fortresses and monuments called "nurage" or "nuraghe" (Lilliu 2006: 7) that were often located atop hill-summits (Figure 4.3). More than 7000 nuraghes have been identified (Contu 1985: 5), some of which included nuraghe complexes (Lilliu 2006: 7).

Figure 4.3: Nuraghe La Prisciona (village near Arzachena, Sardinia) (credit: Heinz-Josef Lucking)

In the Late Bronze Age, Sardinia was a source of tin, in particular at Monte Mannu in the northwest and at Iglesias in the southwest. The highly inaccessible nature of these deposits would have challenged ancient miners (Penhallurick 1986: 79). The Sardinian metal-sources were not exploited at that time (Lo Schiavo 1988: 98). However, the scarcity of tin, crucial for the production of bronze, may have pushed Bronze-Age traders to search for metals across the Mediterranean (Gale and Stos-Gale 1987: 135-78) and inspired them to exploit the Sardinian mines. The first verifiable slag confirming local smelting and casting in Sardinia was found in a hoard of ancient tin (Tylecote *et al.* 1983: 63-77).

The 14th century B.C. saw a mature and developed Nuragic civilization expand beyond Sardinia's borders. Whether this was due to an earthquake, drought or some other reason is not known, but some demographic considerations cannot be ignored. Ugas (2016) noted that the Nuragic civilization peaked around the time of the Sherden mercenaries. The Nuragic people became well known in the Mediterranean for being fierce warriors and "Sardinians from the Gulf of Cagliari were stimulated to become warriors and leave the island to improve their lifestyle in Kingdoms of Eastern Mediterranean" (Drews 1993: 218-9). So many Sardinians left the island to escape life-threatening conditions and poverty in search of better opportunities as far away as the other end of the Mediterranean. Lehmann (1983: 97) stated:

> "I believe in the possibility that the Shardana who appear as mercenaries and pirates in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries actually came from Sardinia."

3. 14th century B.C.

3.1 Nearby islands

Nuragic-type archaeology has been found on several islands east of Sardinia and may therefore be an indicator of Sardinian migration en route to the Levant. Filicudi Island (Figure 4.4), about 25 miles northeast of the island of Sicily, included remains of the pre-historic village

of Capo Graziano (Webster 1996: 19) and about twenty Nuragic stone-built oval huts. This village may have moved to the nearby hill village of Montagnola because of its better defensive position. However, Montagnola's disappearance by the 13th century B.C. suggest a possibly violent end.

Figure 4.4: Nearby islands of Panarea, Filicudi and Pantelleria

Panarea Island (Figure 4.4) is one of the smallest islands in the Aeolian Archipelago and an ideal port of call along the Medterranean trade-routes. The southewestern village on Capo Milazzese included twenty-three oval stone huts; from the Bronze Age (c. 1400 B.C.) and are considered typically Nuragic (Bernabò Brea 1947). One of these was distinctively square-shaped, perhaps serving as the community or worship center. Numerous finds were found at the site, now preserved in the Museo Archeologico Regionale Eoliano Luigi Bernabò Brea in Lipari.

Pantelleria Island (Figure 4.4) is 220 miles south-east of Sardinia, the largest volcanic satellite-island 62 miles southwest of Sicily, and 37 miles east of the Tunisian coast. The southeastern district of Cunelie included fifty-seven "Sesi" tombs, or "funeral domes", that are very similar to (but smaller) than the Sardinian nuraghe. They consist of either round or elliptical towers built of lava with sepulchral chambers in them topped by a conical dome. While the largest is an ellipse of about 18 by 20m (59 by 66 ft), most only measure a diameter of 6 to 7m (20 to 23 ft). They were erected outside the village walls on flat areas and included pottery typical of the village.

3.2 Byblos

As previously noted, Amarna letters (*EA* 81:16, *EA* 122:35, *EA* 123:15) from Rib-Hadda mayor of Byblos to the Pharaoh Amenhotep III and Akhenaten in the 14th century B.C. mentioned the presence of Shardana in Byblos (Moran 1992: 150-1, 201-2).

4. 13th century B.C.

Nuragic ceramics from the 13th century B.C. were found in Sicily (Lipari and Agrigento areas) (Santoni and Sabatini 2010: 3), Greece (Tyrins), Crete (Kommos), and Cyprus (Kokkinokremnos) (Gale 2011). Some scholars have claimed the Sherden seem to have been one of the more prominent groups of sea-pirates that raided coasts and cargo vessels along Egyptian sea-routes and thereby disrupted trade in the 13th century B.C. (Grimal 1992: 250-53). The Sherden left footprints in Mediterranean islands and continental ports in search of new land and opportunities, having likely migrated from Sardinia east through the Aeolian Islands, Sicily, the Italian coast, the Greek islands, Crete, the Anatolian coast, Ugarit, Byblos, Cyprus, Canaan and Egypt (D'Amato and Salimbeti 2015: 16).

4.1 Egypt (Ramesses II)

The first certain mention of the Sherden in Egypt was recorded by Ramesses II. Sherden sea-pirates attacked cargo vessels traveling to Egypt (Grimal 1992: 250-53). Ramesses II defeated the Sherden and two other factions of the Sea Peoples, the Lukka (L'kkw, possibly the later Lycians) and the Shekelesh (Šqrsšw). The fragmented Tanis Stele II refers to Ramesses II repelling a Sherden attack in his Year 2 (c. 1278 B.C.) (Kitchen 1979: 290.14; Kitchen 1982b: 40-41; Sandars 1985: 124; 2005) It is possible that some of the Sherden captured in the battle were forced into Egyptian service (Kitchen 1996a: 120):

> "As for the Sherden of rebellious mind, whom none could ever fight against, who came bold-hearted, they sailed in, in warships from the midst of the Sea, those whom none could withstand; but he plundered them by the victories of his valiant arm, they being carried off to Egypt."

Soon after, the Sherden are listed as mercenaries stationed in Egyptian garrisons in Canaan such as Lachish and Beit Shean as well as the Pharaoh's personal guard. The Battle of Kadesh took place between the Egyptian forces under Ramesses II and the Hittite Empire under Muwatalli at the city of Kadesh on the Orontes River, near the current Syrian-Lebanese border (Kitchen 1996a: 16-17). The Sherden served as mercenaries of the Egyptian army. The poem of Pentaur (Breasted 1906a: 58) on temple walls at Luxor, Karnak and Abydos describes the preparations of the Egyptians and their northern march:

> "Behold, his majesty prepared his infantry and his chariotry, the Sherden (*S-r-dy-n*) of the captivity of his majestry from the victories of his sword –they gave the plan of battle…"

4.2 Egypt (Merneptah)

According to Ramesses II's son, pharaoh Merneptah (c. 1213-1203 B.C.) (Wilson 1955: 376-378), the Lybians and a coalition of Sea Peoples including the Sherden, Sheklesh, Tursha (Teresh) and Akawasha (but not including either the Philistines or Tjeker) attempted to invade Egypt from the Libyan border c. 1208 B.C. However, Merneptah successfully repelled them.

4.3 Ugarit

The King of Ugarit hired Sherden mercenaries in the mid-13th century B.C. Several Ugaritic texts mentioned the Sherden. PRU III.16.251 was written in the reign of Niqmepa, while PRU III.15.118 and PRU III.15 date from the reign of his son Ammistamru II (Heltzer 1983: 9-15; Tykot 1994: 59-83):

PRU III.16.251:

> "From the present day, Niqmepa, son of Niqmaddu, king of Ugarit, took the fields of Allan, the Sherdanu, in the (village) Ilu'istam'I, and the fields of his inheritance (?) and gave it to Sawittenu. And Sawittenu shall honor the King, his Lord with 100 (shekels) of gold. Nobody shall take it from his hands."
>
> The seal of the great King
> Witness – Samas-sarru, the scribe

PRU III.15.118:

> "From the present day Ammistamru, son of Niqmepa, king of Ugarit, took the fields of Allan, the Sherdanu with its vineyards, in the (village) Mati'ilu and gave it to Ibsali and Ibsali [X] (shekels) of silver (?) shall give to the [king]. In the future nobody [ ] shall take it from Ibsali."
>
> The seal of the Ammistamru, son of Niqmepa
> Witness – Iasiru, the scribe

PRU III.15:

> [and next: the house] and the salt-producing field [of} IM,
> son of the Sherdana, Kurwanu bought [for x hund] red (shekels) of silver.
> This field {of] Kurwanu will be forever.

Other Ugarit records noted the "oak of Sherdanu" (PRU III.109 and PRU III.131, Liverani 2014: 24).

These Ugaritic texts support that some Sherden were landowners in Ugarit. They may also suggest that Sherden sought a better standard of living east of Sardinia.

5. 12th century B.C.

The Sherden who attacked the Nile Delta prior to Ramesses II's northern campaign in the 13th century B.C. were defeated, captured and incorporated within his Egyptian army (Breasted 1946: 449; Gardiner 1947: 194ff). A century later, Egyptian reliefs of Ramesses III's Medinet Habu portray the Sherden as part of the royal guard or as infantry warriors carrying their round shields and either swords or spears, and wearing horned helmets. In fact, the 12th century B.C. includes some of the richest evidence of Sherden presence in the Levant (Roberts 2009: 61-3).

5.1 El-Ahwat and Kerem-Maharal

Perhaps the most intriguing archaeological finding attributed to the Sherden in Canaan is the Iron-Age site excavated at El-Ahwat. It is a 7.5-acre fortified city on the flat shoulder of a ridge in the biblical region of the Israelite tribe of Manasseh, about ten miles east of Caesarea, close to the historic Via Maris, Arunah-pass and heavily contested Jezreel Valley. This strategic spot overloooks the Sharon Plain, the Carmel Range as well as the Samarian Hills.

The site was discovered in 1992 and excavated between 1993-2000 (Zertal 2012). Seemingly fitting for mercenaries living on the edge of civilization, the isolated and highly fortified outpost's towers provided excellent visibility beyond the nearby vegetation. Its city walls, corridors, *tholoi*, entrance (on the northern end of the settlement) and the division of its quarters resemble elements of Bronze Age Sardinian proto-Nuraghe and Corsican architecture.

Since 2001, Zertal (2011: 423) theorized that Sherden warrior immigrants mixed Iron I and foreign fortified elements in building El-Awhat. Professor Ugas (2008: 151-188) of the Cagliari University, an expert on Protohistoric Sardinia, confirmed the site's Sardinian nature. El-Ahwat's architecture provides concrete evidence of contact between the Central and Eastern Mediterranean. It also confirms the existence of a non-Aegean settlement in Canaan and debunks the theory that all Sea Peoples in Canaan had an Aegean-Anatolian culture and origin (Emanuel 2012a).

However, others initially ignored Zertal's views and some questioned his dating of this site (Finkelstein 2007). Zertal claimed El-Ahwat was an Egyptian stronghold inhabited by 300-500 people. The governor's house resembles those from other Egyptian sites. It was occupied for a relatively short period of time, 60-70 years, perhaps between the early 12th century B.C. (when the Sea Peoples invaded Canaan) and the last quarter of the 12th century B.C. (when the Egyptians were defeated along the Via Maris and abandoned Canaan).

Findings included locally-made pottery, stone artifacts, animal bones and agricultural areas. No imports from outside Canaan were identified. The large amounts of fish bones are suggestive of trade with coastal cities. The smaller findings (beads and scarabs) are greater in quantity, quality and variety than any other excavated site in Canaan for that period and support the theory of a very strong Egyptian presence.

Similar architecture was also discovered in Kerem-Maharal, about nine miles farther north of El-Ahwat. These two sites are the first finds that hint at specific Sherden settlements in Canaan between Wadi Arah and south Carmel. Where did the Sherden go after these sites were abandoned remains uncertain. They may have been lost in battle, assimilated locally, or even returned to Sardinia.

5.2 Battle of Djahi (c. 1175 B.C.)

By the early 12th century B.C., the Sea Peoples were overcoming powerful adversaries like the Hittites in the northern Levant. Ramesses III (c. 1189-1155 B.C.) prepared to confront them and contain their new apparent threat to Egypt. The Medinet Habu reliefs depict two major battles in Year 8 of Ramesses III (c. 1175 B.C.): the land battle of Djahi and the subsequent sea battle of the Nile Delta. Both feature the Egyptians and their Sherden mercenaries fighting the Sea Peoples. According to Ramesses III (Medinet Habu, Year 8 inscriptions, lines 16-17) (Wilson 1969: 262):

> "The foreign countries (i.e. Sea Peoples) made a conspiracy in their islands. All at once the lands were removed and scattered in the fray. No land could stand before their arms: from Hatti, Qode, Carchemish, Arzawa and Alashiya on, being cut off (i.e. destroyed) at one time. A camp was set up in Amurru. They desolated its people, and its land was like that which has never come into being. They were coming forward toward Egypt, while the flame was prepared before them. Their confederation was the Peleset, Tjeker, Shekelesh, Denyen and Weshesh, lands united. They laid their hands upon the land as far as the circuit of the earth, their hearts confident and trusting: 'Our plans will succeed!"

Ramesses III (Breasted 1906b: 65-66) added:

> "I equipped my frontier in Zahi (Djahi) prepared before them."

> "The [Egyptian] charioteers were warriors [...], and all good officers, ready of hand. Their horses were quivering in their every limb, ready to crush the [foreign] countries under their feet...Those who reached my boundary, their seed is not; their heart and soul are finished forever and ever."

But where was Djahi? Several opinions were offered although most are vague. Wilson (1951: 259) defined the Egyptian frontier as "somewhere along the coast of southern Phoenicia or northern Palestine," but provided no further support. Steindorff (1942: 47) described Retenu as the name of Canaan and Syria. Gardiner (1961: 285) claimed that Djahi was the designation for southern Retenu. Bryce (1998: 371) linked Djahi with south-Phoenicia. Yasur-Landau (2010: 172) claimed that the land-battle of Djahi took place anywhere between the Phoenician and the Levantine coasts; this is unclear, however, because the Levantine coasts include the Phoenician coasts. Yasur-Landau further offered that it was in the northern Phoenician coast and that could have occurred almost anywhere between Amurru and southern Canaan, or even towards the margins of the Delta (Bietak 1993: 293; Redford 2000: 1-20; O'Connor 2000: 90, 99).

Evans (1921: 664-665) assumed the Egyptians attacked both Philistines and Tjeker in Djahi. He named the Philistines as “Pulasati” and the Tjeker as “Tzakkaras” and identified them by the feathered caps. He claimed that the ox-wagons with women and children represented some kind of Sea Peoples migration into Canaan. More recently, James (2017: 62) stated that although the enemies of Egypt are not mentioned in these reliefs “the Peleset and their allies seem clear from the context” and “the Peleset type known from other reliefs are depicted as the victims of the Pharaoh’s onslaught.” However, there is no way to differentiate from the reliefs between the Philistines and the Tjeker. Since textual and archaeological findings indicate that later 12th century B.C. Dor and farther north was mainly inhabited by the Tjeker, it is more likely the Egyptians confronted the Tjeker (and not the Philistines) in the Battle of Djahi in northern Canaan (see Chapter 6: Tjeker).

By the time of Ramesses III, Sherden warriors are depicted in military reliefs alongside Egyptian troops or as part of the royal bodyguard (Abbas 2017: 7-23). Figures 4.5-4.6 (Nelson 1930: pl. 31) depict Ramesses III in his chariot, followed by two sunshade-bearers, accompanied by Egyptian and Sherden infantry, departing for Djahi.

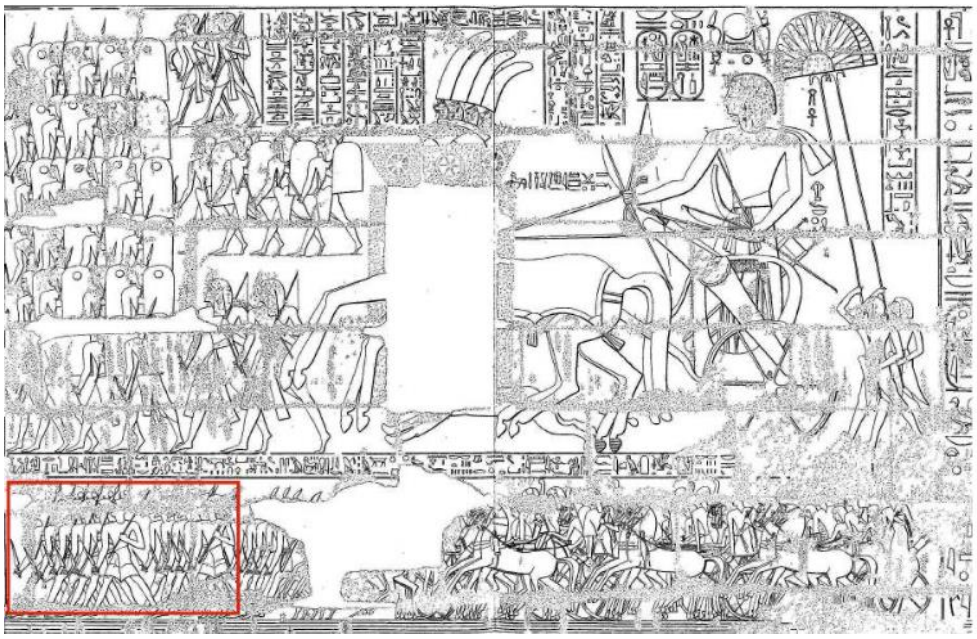

Figure 4.5: Sherden warriors march to Djahi against the Sea Peoples (Medinet Habu) (after Nelson 1930)

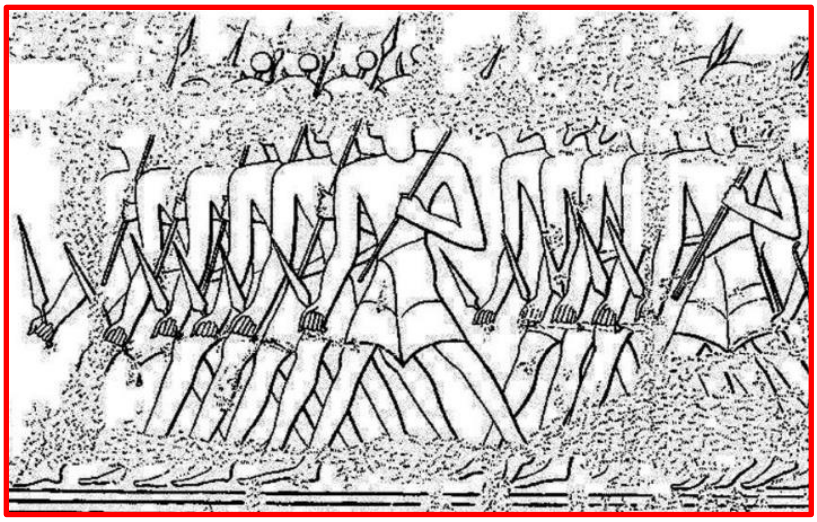

Figure 4.6: Sherden mercenaries; magnification from selected area in above Figure 4.5 (red box) (after Nelson 1930)

Figure 4.7 (Nelson 1930: pl. 32) depicts Ramesses III in his chariot, with drawn bow, charging into the disoriented Sea Peoples wearing high feathered head-dress. The native Egyptian troops and their Sherden mercenaries are slaying the Sea Peoples as well as their women and children in the ox-carts (Figures 4.7-4.10). Edgerton and Wilson (1936: 38) described Plates 32 and 34 as follows:

> "Ramses III in his chariot charges into the thoroughly disorganized Sea Peoples. He is supported by Egyptian infantry and foreign auxiliaries. The Sea Peoples flee on foot and in their chariots, while their women, children and baggage move away in heavy oxcarts."

Figure 4.7: Land battle: Sea Peoples vs. Ramesses III, his Egyptian troops and Sherden auxiliaries (Medinet Habu; after Nelson 1930)

Figure 4.8: A Sherden warrior in the Egyptian army fights against the Sea Peoples; magnification of above Figure 4.7 (red box) (after Nelson 1930)

Figure 4.9: Sherden warriors in the Egyptian army fight against the Sea Peoples; magnification of above Figure 4.7 (blue box) (after Nelson 1930)

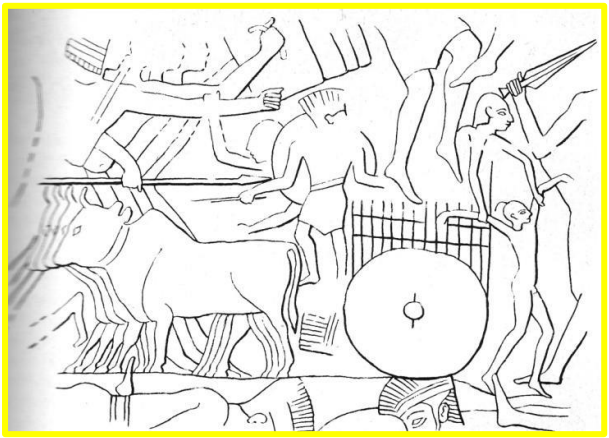

Figure 4.10: Ox-carts, women, and children in the battle scene; magnification of above Figure 4.7 (yellow box) (after Sandars 1985)

As such, historians have generally suggested that these Sea Peoples who attacked Egyptian forces in the Battle of Djahy did so while being accompanied by their women, children, and ox-carts. However, it is unusual to go to battle with women, children, and ox-carts. Instead, it is "an indication of the movement of entire families within a migration rather than of a regular battle scene" (Yasur-Landau 2010: 175). Therefore, a more reasonable alternative is that perhaps the Egyptian army and its Sherden mercenaries surprised and massacred mainly the Tjeker in and around Dor, and that the depictions of ox-carts, women and children reflect the forced migration of civilian Tjeker families fleeing for their lives. Tjeker survivors would have migrated to Cyprus and returned to Dor some 50 years later in c. 1130 B.C. after the Egyptians were defeated and removed from their garrisons along the Via Maris (see Chapter 6: Tjeker).

The Sherden were not part of the Sea Peoples coalition that invaded Canaan in the 12th century B.C. Nevertheless, the Sherden were present in Canaan as part of the Egyptian army fighting against the Sea Peoples. However, the Sherden's fate followed that of the Egyptians who abandoned Canaan by c. 1130 B.C.

5.3 Battle of the Delta

Ramesses III (1186-1155 B.C.) was the third pharaoh who defeated the Sea Peoples. The hieroglyphic texts and pictorial reliefs in his magnificent mortuary temple of Medinet Habu in Thebes immortalized the major confrontation in his Year 8 (c. 1175 B.C.) between the Egyptians and Sherden and a coalition of several of the Sea Peoples. The sea battle occurred in the "river mouth" which some attribute to the estuaries of the Nile in the Egyptian Delta (Wilson 1969: 262; Bietak 1985: 217; Sandars 1985: 124). Ramesses III admitted that the invading land forces reached the very border of Egypt (Bietak 1985: 217; Sandars 1985: 120).

According to the reliefs of Medinet Habu, the different members of the Sea Peoples are distinguishable by the kind of headdress they used. While the Teresh and Shekelesh had fillet headbands, the Philistines, the Tjeker, and the Denyen wore the so-called "feather" headdress (a leather cap and an ornamental headband from which a row of slightly curving strips stands upright to form a kind of diadem). Regardless of whether the strips are feathers, reeds, leather strips, or horsehair, this head-covering is the distinguishing mark of the group (Dothan, T. 1982b). The Sherden were the only ones that wore horned helmets similar to those depicted in the Medinet Habu reliefs (Nelson 1930: pl. 37) (Figure 4.11). They fought alongside the Egyptians, sometimes in the same boat (Figure 4.12).

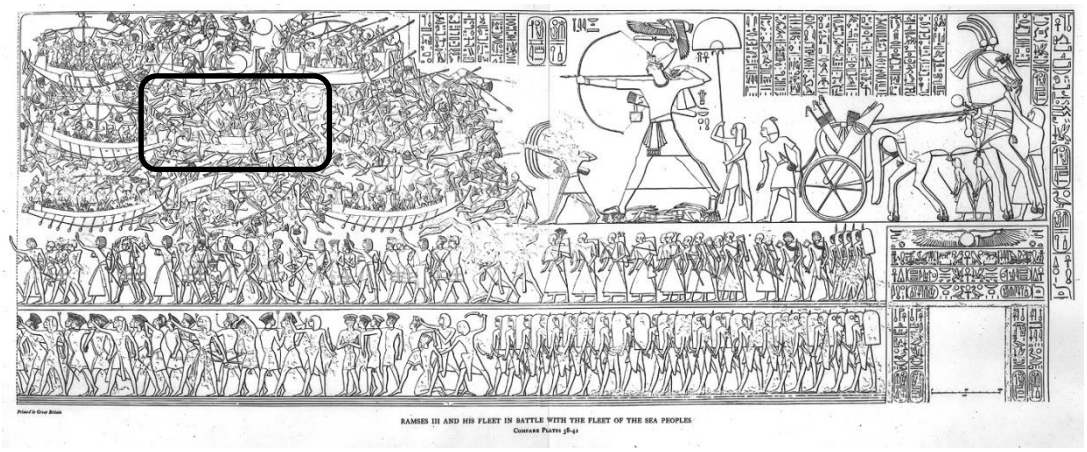

Figure 4.11: Egyptians and Sherden versus Sea Peoples (after Nelson 1930)

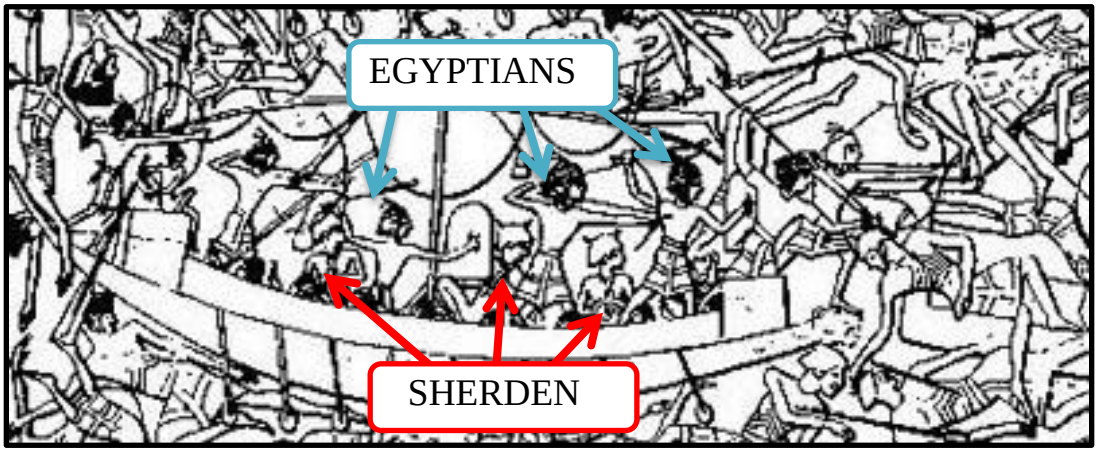

Figure 4.12: Sherden fought alongside the Egyptians, sometimes in the same boats, magnification of above Figure 4.11 (black box) (after Nelson 1930)

Ramesses III won decisively and captured many invaders. Below the reliefs depicting the sea battle, rows of prisoners can be seen being led into captivity. In the hieroglyphic text accompanying the Medinet Habu relief and in Papyrus Harris I, Ramesses III bragged about his great victory over the Sea Peoples (Sandars 1985: 131).

Although Egypt survived the fierce attacks, they nearly collapsed Egypt's economy. The Sea Peoples retreated to many of the sites they previously conquered (Bietak 1985: 217; Sandars 1985: 120).

5.4 Onomasticon of Amenope (c. 1100 B.C.)

The Onomasticon of Amenope is an ancient Egyptian administrative/literary categorization of 610 entities dating to c. 1100 B.C. (Gardiner 1968: 24-63). It mentions the Philistine-cities of Ashkelon (262), Ashdod (263) and Gaza (264) (Gardiner 1947: 190-91). It

also denotes the existence of ethnic groups in Canaan such as the Israelite tribe of Asher (*I-s-r*) (265) (Aharoni 1967/1979: 270) and three Sea Peoples groups: Sherden (SHRDN, 268), Tjeker (SKL, 269) and Philistines (PLST, 270) (Oren 2000). The Philistine cities were corroborated by numerous archaeological findings as well as the Bible. The Tjeker's center of operations in Dor was further reaffirmed in the Tale of Wenamun (Helck 1986: 1215-17; Baines 1999: 209-33; Scheepers 1992: 355-65; Egberts 2001: 495-6; Sass 2002:247-255; Schipper 2005).

Some deduced that the Onomasticon ordered cities in geographical sequence and similarly ordered the Sea Peoples groups in sequence but from north to south (Goedicke 1975; Stern 2000b: 198). Following this reasoning, several scholars (Gardiner 1947; Alt 1950: 58-71; Dothan, M. 1986: 102-16; 1988: 298; Mazar, A. 1990a: 305-6; Raban 1991: 17-27; Wright 1991: 603; Lemaire 1991: 135-52; Dothan and Dothan 1992: 213-14; Stager 1995: 332-348; Stern 2000b: 197-212; 2006: 386; Machinist 2000: 66; Artzy 2006) assumed that the Sherden dominated the area of the Akko Valley and the northern portion of Canaan. According to M. Dothan (1993: 20-21), the Sherden occupied the coastal territory between the port of Dor and Tyre (partially overlapping with the Israelite tribe of Asher and with the Tjeker) (Figure 4.13).

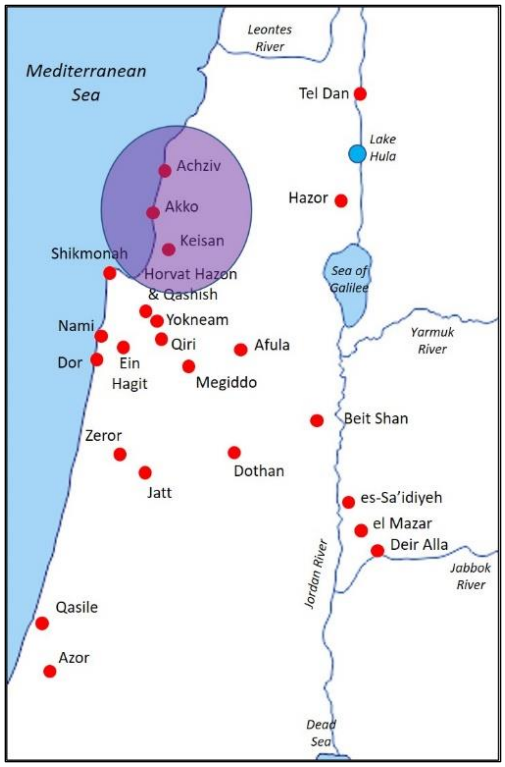

Figure 4.13: The assumed Sherden territory

These scholars assumed the Sherden were one of the Sea Peoples. The Tel Akko findings provide clear evidence about the existence of Sea Peoples in the region (Dothan, M. 1993: 16-24). Therefore, these scholars attributed the Sea Peoples pottery uncovered in Akko Valley sites (Tell Keisan, Tel Akko and Tell Abu Hawam) to the Sherden. However, others were more skeptical: "The same pottery is once used to identify 'Sikilis' and on another occasion 'Sherdani' – a typical case of the pots and the people' problem" (Lehmann 2001: 89). Emanuel (2012b: 2) added:

> "This suggestion, though, requires a difficult admission: that no effective material culture template has been established for the Sherden, in large part, because we simply don't know with any real degree of accuracy where they settled, particularly outside of Egypt, and because we wouldn't know what to look for if we did. As nature abhors a vacuum, and as scholarship abhors an absence of evidence and answers, the Cypro-Aegean Philistine Paradigm has largely – and naturally – filled this void to date."

Furthermore, the territory occupied by the Sherden in Canaan was never defined in the Onomasticon, Tale of Wenamun, or any other source document. There is no clear archaeological evidence that the Sherden occupied cities such as Akko, Tell Keisan or Achziv.

In addition, the most famous finds in Tel Achziv, on a mound south of the Nahal Keziv estuary, nine miles north of Akko, are the four so-called Phoenician cemeteries (Dayagi-Mendels 2002, cf Prausnitz 1993: 32-35; Mazar 2001, 2004). Some of the excavated graves were previously looted while others remained undamaged. The southern cemetery's tomb 1029 belonged to both an elite-male and a female. It contained a number of metal objects including a bronze bowl, a bronze spearhead, a bronze double axe (similar in type to those found in Jatt, a Tjeker location), as well as an elbow-fibula (see Chapter 8). A number of bi-chrome flasks and an ivory bowl were also present in the same grave. Archaeologists dated the tomb-contents to the 11th century B.C. (Prausnitz 1997: 22; Gilboa 1999: 1-22).

The grave was a "warrior burial" (Prausnitz 1993: 338) and it was attributed to the same group of Sea Peoples whose graves were excavated in Tel Zeror with similar findings (Mazar, E. 2001: 157; 2004). But 11th century B.C. Tel Zeror was likely under Tjeker control, which implies that Achziv was likely settled by the Tjeker and not the Sherden. The same applies to the findings in the Akko Valley (see Chapter 8).

The Akko Valley finds that can be attributed to the Sea Peoples were actually confirmed as Aegean/Mycenaean (Stern 2013). Therefore, in contrast to assumptions that these finds belonged to the Sherden, these objects which happened to be similar to those in other Tjeker-controlled cities (e.g. Dor, Tel Zeror, etc.), are more likely Tjeker (see Chapters 8-13).

Chapter 5: Asherites, Israelites, Canaanites, Tyrians, and the Sea Peoples

According to biblical narratives, the Israelites were a loose confederation of twelve tribes when they commenced their conquest of Canaan. The tribe that reached the furthest north on the coast was the tribe of Asher. According to biblical narratives, the Asherites were allotted 22 cities, some of which were near and around the city of Tyre. While other Israelite tribes subjugated Canaanites and forced them to pay tribute or be enslaved, the Asherites did not. In several cities, they lived together.

According to Stager (1998: 124), the early 12th century B.C. arrival of Sea Peoples to the coasts of Canaan would have displaced many local Canaanites and Israelites from the plains to the highlands.

Based on archaeological findings in Egypt and Canaan, certain historical events, regional dynamics and Old Testament narratives, what follows is an updated historical account about the Asherites, Israelites, Tyrians and the Sea Peoples in northern Canaan between the 14th–10th centuries B.C.

1. 14th century B.C.

1.1 Canaan and Asher's allotment

Following the biblical Exodus, Moses blessed the twelve tribes of Israel, including the tribe of Asher (Deuteronomy 33:24-25):

כדוּלְאָשֵׁר אָמַר בָּרוּךְ מִבָּנִים אָשֵׁר יְהִי רְצוּי אֶחָיו וְטֹבֵל
בַּשֶּׁמֶן רַגְלוֹ׃
כהבַרְזֶל וּנְחֹשֶׁת מִנְעָלֶךָ וּכְיָמֶיךָ דָּבְאֶךָ׃

24 And of Asher he said: "May Asher be blessed with sons. He will be pleasing to his brothers, and immerse his foot in oil.
25 Your locks are iron and copper, and the days of your old age will be like the days of your youth.

Shortly after the Israelite conquest of Jericho, Joshua divided Canaan and allotted territories to each of the twelve Israelite tribes (Joshua 14). Asher's territory in the northern coastal area of Canaan receives much rainfall and therefore offers very fertile pastures and wooded hills. The territory reached the borders of the cities of Tyre (also known as the "fortress city of the rock") and Sidon (Joshua 19:24-31):

כדוַיֵּצֵא הַגּוֹרָל הַחֲמִישִׁי לְמַטֵּה בְנֵי־אָשֵׁר לְמִשְׁפְּחוֹתָם׃
כהוַיְהִי גְּבוּלָם חֶלְקָת וַחֲלִי וּבֶטֶן וְאַכְשָׁף׃
כווְאַלַמֶּלֶךְ וְעַמְעָד וּמִשְׁאָל וּפָגַע בְּכַרְמֶל֙ הַיָּמָּה וּבְשִׁיחֹור
לִבְנָֽת׃
כזוְשָׁב מִזְרַח הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ בֵּית דָּגֹן וּפָגַע בְּזַבֻּלוֹן וּבְגֵי יִפְתַּח־
אֵל צָפֹונָה בֵּית הָעֵמֶק וּנְעִיאֵל וְיֹצֵא אֶל־כָּבוּל מִשְּׂמֹאל׃
כחוְעֶבְרֹן וּרְחֹב וְחַמֹּון וְקָנָה עַד צִידֹון רַבָּה׃
כטוְשָׁב הַגְּבוּל֙ הָרָמָה וְעַד־עִיר מִבְצַר־צֹר וְשָׁב הַגְּבוּל֙

24 And the fifth lot went out for the tribe of the children of Asher according to their families.
25 And their border was Helkath, and Hali, and Beten, and Achshaph.
26 And Alammelech, and Amad, and Misheal; and it met in Carmel westward, and in Shihor-libnath;
27 And it turned toward the sunrising to Beth-dagon, and met in Zebulun, and in the valley of Jiphtah-el toward the north side of Beth-emek, and Neiel, and it went out to Babul on the left,
28 And Ebron, and Rehob, and Hammon, and Kanah, to great Zidon;
29 And the border turned to Ramah, and to the fortress city of the rock;

and the border turned to Hosah; and the outgoings thereof were to the sea from the lot of Achzib.
30 Ummah also, and Aphek, and Rehob; twenty-two cities with their villages.
31 This is the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Asher according to their families, these cities with their villages.

וְתִצְאֹתֵיהֶם הַיָּמָּה מִחֶבֶל אַכְזִיבָה (כתיב וְיִהְיוּ)חֹסָה וְהָיוּ
:תְּצֹאֹתֵיהֶם
לוְעֻמָּה וַאֲפֵק וּרְחֹב עָרִים עֶשְׂרִים וּשְׁתַּיִם וְחַצְרֵיהֶן
:
לאזֹאת נַחֲלַת מַטֵּה בְנֵי־אָשֵׁר לְמִשְׁפְּחֹתָם הֶעָרִים הָאֵלֶּה
:וְחַצְרֵיהֶן

1.2 Canaan, Byblos, Sidon and Tyre

Byblos, Sidon, and Tyre were some of the most important northern coastal cities in Canaan, and among the oldest cities in the world. Sidon was a principal city of the Sidonian region (modern Lebanon). It was known for cedar wood-logging and non-military Mediterranean shipping.

Forty-seven miles north of Sidon, Byblos has revealed 3rd millennium B.C. remains of uniformly-sized houses (Lauffray 2008). The city's various names have included "Kebny" (Wilkinson 2011: 66), "Gubla" (Moran 1992: 359-61), "Gebal" (Thierry 1951: 130-1) and "Geval" (Ezekiel 27:9). The city traded with Egypt via "Byblos ships" (Strudwick 2005: 333-335) importing papyrus and exporting timbers.

Twenty-three miles south of Sidon, Tyre was built on a rock island a few hundred yards out in the Mediterranean (Ward 1997: 247). Its name comes from the Semitic *sr* (Hebrew *Sor)* meaning "rock." Herodotus (*Hist.* II.44) claimed that Tyre was founded c. 2750 B.C. and was proved correct by archaeological findings (Bikai 1978: 69ff).

Across from the island city of Tyre, a coastal city was subsequently built. It was called *Ushu* in cuneiform texts (Ward 1997: 247) and later *Palaetyrus* ("Old Tyre") in Greek texts (Jidejian 1996). It was located at the foot of the Lebanon Mountain's southwestern ridges, and its well-watered plain became the primary source of water, food, and wood for the fortified island. Centuries later, Alexander the Great connected the island and mainland (Presutta 2007: 225, cf Katzenstein 1973: 9).

However, these three city-states (Byblos, Sidon and Tyre) were not always on friendly terms. In the 14th century B.C. Amarna period, the king of Gabel/Byblos (Rib-Abdi) (Moran 2002: *EA* 38) noted that enemies killed members of his family as well as the ruler of Tyre and that Tyre had great wealth and a palace similar to the one in Ugarit (Belmonte 2003: 61-63). In later letters (*EA* 146-155), the new mayor of the island of Tyre (Abimilki) complained about the treacherous king of Sidon (Zimrida) and how Zimrida took over the coastal city of Ushu/Usu, Tyre's supplier of water, wood, etc.

Even the Ugaritic texts of the 13th/12th centuries B.C. reflect the schism between the king of the country of Sidon and the king of the city of Tyre (Arnaud 1992: 184s.; Aubet 2000: 72). Sidon's expansionism ended up restricting Tyre's territory to the island-city. According to Belmonte (2003: 104):

> "After revealing the written documents, we note that the most remarkable thing about the kingdom of Tyre is its apparent non-"territoriality." Although the mention of the toponym Ras-surri in *RS*

> 34.167+ = *RSOu* 7 No. 25 which puts it in relation to Tyre seems to indicate that the island maintained some control over continental territories south of Usu."

The Bible likewise complements the histories of these cities and of the Hebrews/Israelites when it mentions that Sidon was on the northern edge of Canaan (Genesis 10:19), that the Giblites or Gebalites (or inhabitants of Gebal/Byblos) were in Lebanon (Joshua 13:5), that Tyre was located by Asher's western boundary (Joshua 19:29), and that the Gebalites helped Solomon's and Hiram's builders to quarry stone and prepare timber for King Solomon's temple (1 Kings 5:18).

1.3 Canaanites and Asherites coexist

There are diverse interpretations about the biblical narratives of the Israelite "conquest" of Canaan. On one hand, some might generalize Judges 1 to mean that the whole Israelite conquest of Canaan was limited; that while the Israelites did drive-out or annihilate Canaanites in some places, they did not do so everywhere. However, in foreshadowing future events, "when Israel became strong… they put the Canaanites to forced labor…" (Judges 1:28) where "forced labor" has been interpreted as "enslaved" or imposed upon to "pay tribute."

This generalized perspective would likewise apply to the tribe of Asher. In regards to Asher's role in northern Canaan, two verses (Judges 1:31-32) begin and end with the expressions of לֹא הוֹרִישׁ (phonetically *"lo horish"*) and לֹא הוֹרִישׁוּ (phonetically "*lo horishu"*), meaning either that they did not "drive out"[6] or "destroy"[7] the Canaanites. Either way, they lived together.

Similarly, perhaps Judges 1:28 is not an argument for the Israelite conquest of the whole of Canaan. Consider that Judges 1:18-35 mention several Israelite tribes across Canaan who did not annihilate the locals, such as: Judah took Gaza, Ashkelon, and Ekron and drove out the inhabitants from the mountains but could not drive out the inhabitants from the valley (Judges 1:18-20); Judah took Jerusalem (Judges 1:8) but Benjamin could not drive out the Jebusites and lived with them in Jerusalem (Judges 1:21); Manasseh did not take possession of several cities (Judges 1:27); Ephraim lived among the Canaanites (Judges 1:29); Zebulun subjected Canaanites to forced labor (Judges 1:30); Asher lived among the Canaanites (Judges 1:31-32); Naphtali did not drive out or annihilate the Canaanites but lived among them and they became forced labor (Judges 1:33); Dan was kept in the hill country and not allowed in the valley, but when the house of Joseph (i.e. Ephraim) became strong, the locals became forced labor (Judges 1:34-35). Given the different tribes listed in the above sequence, it may also be suggested that Judges 1:28 is specific to the tribe of Manasseh which was mentioned in the immediately previous verse (Judges 1:27) rather than to the whole of the Israelites.

However, Ganor (2009: 30) claimed that "It is unreasonable to assume that the Canaanites allowed Asher, the enemy, to settle amongst them." Perhaps, therefore, Asher (and

[6] NASB: "Asher did not drive out the inhabitants … and… dwelt among the Canaanites..."
[7] *Vulgate*: "non delevit"

the other Israelite tribes) did not live intimately amongst the Canaanites they could not displace, but rather "nearby" or in areas "surrounding" them.

It stands to reason, then, that many Canaanite cities may have been conquered, that some of these were destroyed (e.g. Jericho, Ai, Hazor, etc.), that some were not destroyed, and that some of those not destroyed may have either paid tribute or were subjected to forced labor (Judges 1:28, 30, 33, 35). Regardless, during this period, several Israelite tribes, including Asher, lived near or around some Canaanite cities.

1.4 Canaanites send Amarna Letters

While Byblos, Sidon and Tyre are mentioned in a number of second millennium B.C. extra-biblical documents, the most interesting and relevant accounts come from the Amarna Letters (Moran 1992). Several of these refer to "Habiru," "Habiri," "Milkili," "Labawi" – various names that have been linked to the Israelite tribe of Asher. King Rib-Haddi of Byblos (*EA* 74) wrote that "All my cities which are situated in the mountains or along the sea have sided with the Habiru people." King Abi-Milki of Tyre (*EA* 146, 155) mentioned the Habiru and described their dominance over the extended regions previously controlled by Canaanite cities.

Numerous late 19th century scholars offered a variety of sources for these names. Some identified these as Hebrews (Zimmern 1890: 133-47; Tiele 1893: 285). Given the geographic overlap/proximity in the northern Galilee, some of these Habiru/Hebrews might have included the Israelite Asherites. Amarna letter references to Labawi, Habiri and Milkili were attributed to early descendant tribes of Asher (Jastrow 1892: 120; Schmidt 1893: 171), two of which were directly cross-referenced with Heber and Malchiel (Numbers 26:45):

44 The descendants of Asher according to their families: the family of Jimnah from Jimnah, the family of the Ishvites from Ishvi, the family of the Beriites from Beriah.	מדִּבְנֵי אָשֵׁר לְמִשְׁפְּחֹתָם לְיִמְנָה מִשְׁפַּחַת הַיִּמְנָה לְיִשְׁוִי מִשְׁפַּחַת הַיִּשְׁוִי לִבְרִיעָה מִשְׁפַּחַת הַבְּרִיעִי:
45 The descendants of Beriah: the family of the *Heberites from Heber,* *the family of the Malchielites from Malchiel.*	מהלִבְנֵי בְרִיעָה לְחֶבֶר מִשְׁפַּחַת הַחֶבְרִי לְמַלְכִּיאֵל מִשְׁפַּחַת הַמַּלְכִּיאֵלִי:
46 The name of Asher's daughter was Serah.	מוְשֵׁם בַּת־אָשֵׁר שָׂרַח:
These were the families of the descendants of Asher according to those of them counted, fifty three thousand and four hundred.	מזאֵלֶּה מִשְׁפְּחֹת בְּנֵי־אָשֵׁר לִפְקֻדֵיהֶם שְׁלֹשָׁה וַחֲמִשִּׁים אֶלֶף וְאַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת:

In central Canaan, Abdi-hiba of Jerusalem (various Amarna Letters) mentioned the "Habiru" or "Habiri." These were also identified with the Hebrews because their names sounded similar, as well as because the Habiru wars in the Amarna Letters and the Israelite conquest in the Bible seemed similar (Conder 1890: 326-9; 1891: 72; 1893: 141; Knutdzon 1915: 48). However, these Habiru wars were specific to Jerusalem, whereas the biblical conquest referred to the whole of Canaan.

The Amarna Letters also mentioned another group called the "Sa Gaz" who behaved like the Habiru but had invaded large areas of Canaan. Therefore, Winckler (1896) equated the Sa Gaz with the Habiru and thereby with the Hebrews. In so doing, he synchronized the Amarna Letters with the Bible Israelites in Jerusalem and throughout Canaan.

However, some have questioned whether the Habiru should be associated with the Hebrews (*Ibrim*) at all (Na'aman 1986: 271-88). Near Eastern documents mention the Habiru relative to certain social element. As such, some scholars denied any connection between the Habiru and the Hebrews (Borger 1958: 121-32) and others claimed that "Hebrew" referred to a social rather than ethnic designation (Rowton 1976: 13-20; Gray 1958: 173-88). Na'aman (1986: 271-88) concluded that "Hebrew" was a designation for Israelites migrating to foreign countries (Gen. 12:1, 14:13, 39:14, 41:12; Exod. 23:9; and Jon. 1:9) or for slaves (Exod. 21:2; Deut. 15:12; and Jer. 34:9, 14).

The terms Habiru/Habiri may have come from the Hebrew root *hbr* meaning confederate ally or people of different races who were allied to fight the Egyptians and their allies (D'horme 1924a: 166, 1924b: 15; Kraeling 1966: 33). In Egypt, "Habiru" was used as a derogatory term for rebels (Greenberg 1961: 70-2). The Amarna Letters used the phrase "to become Habiru" to imply joining opponents of the Pharaoh and to be regarded as outlaws.

Like Hebrew-slaves were viewed negatively by the Egyptians in the Bible, and like Habiru were viewed negatively in Egypt, the Habiru were also perceived negatively by Western Asiatic city-state rulers. They used "Habiru" to describe an uprooted people. However, using "Habiru" to describe the social status of "uprooted migrants" did not last very long (Bottero 1954: 333-5). Sooner or later, they "settled down", got married, had children, and grew into organized communities (Na'aman 1986: 271-88).

Likewise, Na'aman attributed the biblical "Hebrew" in the books of Samuel to uprooted Israelites who left their prior homes and sought new beginnings elsewhere. However, the Philistines, who would be the Israelites' main adversaries in Canaan, used it as a derogatory term for the Israelites. Eventually, the name simply became another name of the Israelites. As such, "All Hebrews were Habiru but not all Habiru were of the stock of Jacob" (Waterhouse 2001: 31-42).

1.5 Earliest reference to Israel

According to Zwickel and van der Veen (2017: 129) a broken Egyptian inscription (AM 21687) stored in Berlin's New Museum possibly indicates the existence of the people of Israel in the 14th or early 13th century B.C. The authors claimed that this inscription is different from and older than Merneptah's Israel stele and attributed it to the period of pharaoh Haremhab (c. 1319-1292 B.C.) or the early reign of pharaoh Rameses II (c. 1279-1213 B.C.). An increasing number of scholars tend to accept this reading (Wimmer 2014: XVII).

This inscription would be the oldest known reference to a group called Israel. Zwickel and van der Veen relate this group to the Habiru nomads of the Amarna letters even though their presence can hardly be confirmed by archaeology. Zwickel and van der Veen (2017: 137) claimed that the 14th century B.C. group of nomads started to settle down in small settlements in the 13th century B.C.

2. 13th century B.C.

2.1 Seti I and Apiru (c. 1290 B.C.)

Following the Amarna period, pharaoh Seti I (c. 1290-1279 B.C.) led his armies through the "Horus military road," starting from the ancient Egyptian fortress city of Tjaru in the northeast corner of the Egyptian Nile Delta, along the northern coast of the Sinai Peninsula, and ending in the modern Gaza strip. Seti's military successes were recorded across the front of the temple of Amun, situated in Karnak, along with several royal steles whose inscriptions mention battles in Canaan and Nubia.

In the Syrian city of Kadesh, a fragment of a victory stele bearing Seti I's name suggests he was victorious there. The Seti I or Beit Shean Stele (Ben-Tor 2015: 85) (Figure 5.1) celebrates how the Egyptians were victorious in lower Canaan and in northern Canaan's cedar woods region. Seti specifically targeted northwestern Canaan for that reason, where "... cedar wood for a new barge for him (Seti I) was brought back from Lebanon" (Wallis 1925: 63). He received it as tribute from some of the northern Canaanite city states he visited; others, who resisted, including Beit-Shean and Yenoam, were easily defeated. While the smaller Seti I Beit-Shean Stele recorded the same military campaign into Canaan, it also mentioned the victory over the Apiru (ANET 255; Rowe 1930: 29-30).

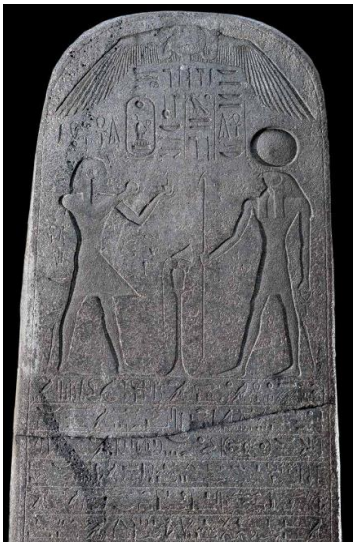

Figure 5.1: Stele set up by Seti I to celebrate his military victories (after Ben-Tor 2016)

2.2 Ramesses II

Ramesses II (1279-1213 B.C.) likewise had military encounters in Canaan. By c. 1250 B.C., Papyrus Leiden notes to "Issue grain to the men of the army and to the Apiru who draw stone for the great pylon of Ramses II." Also contemporary to Ramesses II, Papyrus Anastasi I

identifies a "chief of Aser." However, while some contend that these and other mentions of *'Isr* in Egyptian texts relate to the Israelite tribe of Asher (Aharoni 1979: 179, 183; Hadley 1992: 482), others disagree (Kitchen 1993: 40-41, cf Kitchen 1966a: 70–71).

2.3 Merneptah Stele (c. 1208 B.C.)

Ramesses II was succeeded by his thirteenth son Merneptah (1213-1203 B.C.). He was most renowned for his victory over the Libyan coalition in their invasion in his fifth year c. 1208 B.C. This victory was attested to in four texts: Great Karnak Inscriptions, Athribis Stele (35-lines), Cairo Column, and Merneptah Stele (also known as the "Israel Stele" or "Victory Stele of Merneptah"; 28-lines) (Figure 5.2).

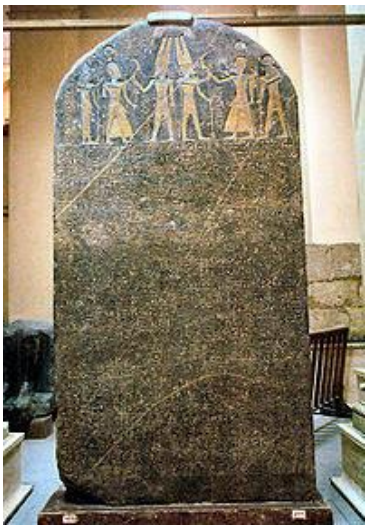

Figure 5.2: The Merneptah Stele (after Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Bietak (2007: 441; cf Schulman 1987: 34; von der Way 1992: 85-99; Manassa 2003: 14), noted that a Libyan coalition attacked Egypt and:

> "According to the great victory inscription of Merenptah (Schulman 1987; von der Way 1992; Manassa 2003) this coalition penetrated as far as the eastern delta, threatening Per-Ramesses and causing its abandonment as a royal residence."

The Merneptah Stele was discovered by Flinders Petrie in 1896 in Thebes, and is now housed in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. The Stele measures roughly 10 feet high by 5 feet wide and is dated to the 5th year of Merneptah's reign. The Stele's last three lines go beyond Merneptah's victory over the Libyans, and deal with a separate campaign in Canaan, then considered part of Egypt's imperial possessions (Sparks 1998: 96-97). Petrie's archaeological team included a German philologist, Wilhelm Spiegelberg, who translated the inscription (Petrie and Spiegelberg 1897: 26):

The princes are prostrate, saying, "Peace!"
Not one is raising his head among the Nine Bows.
Now that Tehenu (Libya) has come to ruin,
Hatti is pacified;
The Canaan has been plundered into every sort of woe:
Ashkelon has been overcome;
Gezer has been captured;
Yano'am is made non-existent.
Israel is laid waste and his seed is not;
Hurru is become a widow because of Egypt.

Accordingly, "nine bows" refers to Egypt's enemies, which varied according to time and circumstance (Hasel 2009: 17 n. 58). "Hatti" refers to the Hittites; "Hurru" refer to Syria/Palestine; and "Ashkelon," "Gezer" and "Yanoam" are cities within Canaan, all of which were supposed to be under Egyptian control (Smith 2002). Spiegelberg and Petrie agreed that line 27 included the word "Israel" (Drower 1985: 221). Many biblical archaeologists accept this translation. For some, this represents the first documented instance of the name "Israel" in an extra-biblical historical record (Redmount 2001: 71-72; Hasel 2008).

It can also be theorized that, following the stele's sequence of listed cities from south to north, the stele identified "I-s-r" as another city in northern Canaan, and may therefore be associated with the Israelite tribe of Asher, similar to Papyrus Anastasi I.

The phrase "wasted, bare of seed" refers to the Egyptian army defeating a nation, people or group and literally destroying their enemy's grain supply. Some have suggested that the stele claimed that Egypt destroyed the Israelite nation in 1208 B.C. However, both Israel and Asher existed thereafter. As such, perhaps the Stele exaggerated Egypt's victory claim. Or maybe Egypt simply claimed a battle victory over one of the Asherite groups in northern Canaan, and not the whole territory of Asher or the whole of Israel.

3. 12th century B.C.

3.1 Sea Peoples

When the archaeological period of Iron Age I began in the 12th century B.C., the coalition of Sea Peoples from the Aegean (Wood 1991), and possibly Anatolia, Cilicia, Cyprus and Syria (Ben Dor 2017: 273), appeared in the Eastern Mediterranean. What inspired them to cross the Mediterranean? Perhaps it was a terrible famine or a volcanic eruption. The annals of the time record that the Sea Peoples were strong enough to overwhelm the Hittite Empire in Asia Minor, as well as other nations down the Mediterranean coast. According to Drews (1993: 4):

> "Within a period of forty to fifty years at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the twelfth century B.C. almost every significant city in the eastern Mediterranean world was destroyed, many of them never to be occupied again."

Ugarit was toppled between the destruction of nearby Tell Tweini (c. 1192-90 B.C. per radiocarbon analysis, Cline 2014: 113) and the Battle of the Delta between the Sea People and the Egyptians (c. 1175 B.C.). Stager (1995: 337; 1998: 158) attributed Ugarit's fall to c. 1187-1185 B.C. According to Bietak (2007: 443), "... while the king was engaged against the Libyans in his fifth year, Egypt lost the major part of coastal Palestine to the Philistines, the Djeker and other Sea Peoples."

3.2 Hazor and Deborah

The "Song of Deborah" (Judges 5) identifies the tribe of Asher in northern Canaan. Based on its grammar and context, it is a victory hymn dated to the 12th century B.C. and is considered the earliest sample of Hebrew poetry (Coogan 2011: 180, 214-19). It also falls in the time of the Sea Peoples in the region. After several Israelite leaders (i.e. Joshua, Othniel, Ehud and Shamgar), Deborah is recognized as one of the Judges who ruled over the Israelite people and she ranks among the most famous women of the Hebrew Bible. Deborah defeated the King of Hazor and Sisera's army, ending a twenty-year period of oppression. The Song also recognizes the absence of some Israelite tribes from the battle:

> Judges 5
> 17 Gilead stayed beyond the Jordan.
> And Dan, why did he linger by the ships?
> Asher remained on the coast
> and stayed in his coves.
> 18 The people of Zebulun risked their very lives;
> so did Naphtali on the terraced fields.

This, along with the earlier Egyptian steles, supports the Asherite presence in coastal northern Canaan. Why did Asher not answer Deborah's call to join the battle against Hazor? Were the Asherites busy battling against Ramesses III's forces? Or is it more likely they were confronting the Sea Peoples, and more specifically the Tjeker which Stager (1995: 337; 1998: 158) described as responsible for attacking and destroying Levantine coastal sites including Dor?

3.3 Demographic changes

Archaeological findings suggest that many of those who were displaced from the coasts of Canaan sought refuge eastward and increased the population of many highland settlements. Aharoni (1976: 55-76) discovered that the area around the rugged and wooded mountains of upper Galilee, although empty of Late Bronze settlements, was inhabited by a score of small, poor Iron Age I (c. 12th–11th centuries B.C.) sites, and which he identified with the early settlers of the tribes of Naphtali and Asher.

Stager (1998: 134) wrote that "… it is necessary to summarize new data in the archaeology of the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age I, which have come from excavations and,

especially, systematic surface surveys of sites on both sides of the Rift Valley." He surveyed nine areas and found that 88 Late Bronze Age sites occupied more than 200 hectares (500 acres), for an estimated population of about 50,000. There were also 678 Iron Age I settlements, each about a hectare or less, for a total of about 600 hectares (nearly 1,500 acres), with an estimated 150,000 inhabitants. Over 90 percent of these Iron Age I sites were new foundations, usually small, un-walled villages and most of these were located in the highlands or plateaus on both sides of the Jordan River. Therefore, Stager concluded there was a major influx of people into the highlands in the 12th–11th centuries B.C.

The dense network of highland villages indicated a dramatic social transformation in the central hill country of Canaan around 1200 B.C. (Finkelstein and Silberman 2001: 107). With no sign of violent invasion, it seemed to be a revolution in lifestyle. Away from the collapsing and disintegrating Canaanite cities, about two hundred fifty hilltop communities suddenly sprang up. Finkelstein and Silberman added:

> "Although there is no way to know if ethnic identities had been fully formed at this time, we identify these distinctive highland villages as "Israelites" since many of them were continuously occupied well into the period of the monarchies – an era from which we have abundant sources, both biblical and extra-biblical, testifying that their inhabitants consciously identified themselves as Israelites."

Callaway (2009: 33) reaffirmed Stager's findings about the increased population influx into the highlands and noted these new hilltop residents were escaping the coastal attack of the Sea Peoples from the west:

> "Furthermore, the newcomers seem to have migrated from the lowlands and coast region *west* of the hill country. The occasion for the migration seems to have been population pressures imposed by more warlike newcomers to the coastal region, such as the Sea Peoples. Thus the hill country settlers migrated to escape wars and violence, and sought out in their remote and isolated mountain-top villages a place of refuge from the strife and disruptions in the more fertile plains."

4. 11th century B.C.

The Onomasticon mentions cities and groups residing in Canaan including the Philistine cities of Ashkelon (262), Ashdod (263) and Gaza (264). It also denotes the existence of the Israelite tribe of Asher (ISR', 265), and three groups associated with the Sea Peoples: Sherden (SHRDN, 268), Tjeker (SKL, 269) and Philistines (PLST, 270). Even into the 11th century B.C., more Israelites moved and assimilated into Canaanites cities. Both Israelites and non-Israelites shared land, alphabet, religious beliefs and external military threats.

4.1 Archaeological findings

Lead-isotope analyses of 48 artefacts from six silver hoards hidden in ceramic jars from Akko, Tell Keisan, Ein Hofez and Dor dated them between 1200-800 B.C. (Figure 5.3) (Thompson and Skaggs 2013). Those from Tell Keisan and Dor dated to the 11th century B.C. (*ibid.*, Table 3) and were linked to West Mediterranean ores, likely in Sardinia and Iberia, including Rio Tinto (Huelva), Ossa-Morena (Portugal/Spain), Los Pedroches (Cordoba), and Linares (Jaen). These sites are part of biblical Tarshish. Chronologically, these findings also precede the partnership between King Solomon and King Hiram of Tyre (10th century B.C.) and centuries prior to what the literature calls the "Phoenician colonization of Iberia" (8th century B.C.).

Figure 5.3: Coastal locations in "Asher's territory" where silver was found (after Thompson and Skaggs 2013)

5. 10th century B.C.

5.1 Tyrian King Abi-Ba'al

Although there are no records on when exactly Abi-Ba'al started his reign in Tyre, he would have been crowned before his son Hiram took over in c. 981 B.C. His name is composed of two words: "Abi" meaning "my father" and "Ba'al" meaning "to own or possess, to exercise dominion over, or to be lord over." The name "Ba'al" is encountered in Canaanite inscriptions, in the Ugarit (Ras-Shamra) tablets, and in Phoenician inscriptions of the deity. By the 10th century B.C., local Canaanites worshipped, among other deities, the "Ba'alim". Thus the Ba'al deity was taken to be the Master (possessor) of a locality or district (i.e. "Ba'al Zaphon", "Ba'al Peor", "Ba'al of Lebanon", etc.).

"Ba'al" is also found throughout the Bible where it reflects Canaanite influences on Israelite religious practices (1 Kings 16:31, Judges 2:11-13), as name variations (1 Chronicles 9:40), or to mean: "master" or "Lord" ("Adon") (Numbers 21:28), "husband" (Genesis 20:3, Hosea 2:18-19), "ruler" (Isaiah 16:8), "owner" (Exodus 21:28, Isaiah 1:3), "citizen" of Jericho (Joshua 24:11) or of Shechem (Judges 9:2), "lord of the wisdoms" (Ecclesiastes 7:12; "ba'al hahochma" in Hebrew phonetics)[8].

5.2 Wars against the Sea Peoples and agreements

According to Katzenstein (1973: 75; cf personal communication with Albright), Albright suggested that Tyrian leader Abi-Ba'al made some sort of treaty with Israelite King David for the purpose of finally breaking the Sea Peoples' power in Canaan. It was King David's task to strike the Philistines on the ground, and Tyre's to take over certain sea-lanes. King David defeated the Philistines (2 Samuel 5:17-25) and the Tjeker in the north (see Chapter 6: Tjeker).

Although the exact sequence of events that led to the defeat of the Sea Peoples is not known, fighting between Israelites and Philistines intensified and culminated with the defeat of the Philistines (Chronicles 18:1):

> 1 And it came to pass afterwards that David smote the Philistines and vanquished them, and he took Gath and its villages from the hand[s] of the Philistines.

The Aegean invaders lost territories they previously took from both the Israelites and the Egyptians (e.g. cities and garrisons along the Via Maris such as Beit Shean, Dothan and Megiddo). In spite of these losses, they were not absorbed by the Israelites and remained a distinct people confined to the cities of the Philistine Pentapolis (Ashkelon, Ashdod, Gaza, Ekron and Gath).

The Israelites regained coastal control from the Tjeker. Some of these Tjeker elites may have retreated to Cyprus, where several tombs containing Berzocana-type bowls (see Appendix) were unearthed (i.e. Gastria-Alaas [east-coast], Amathus [south], Palaepaphos-Skales [southwest] and Lapithus [north]) (see Chapter 6: Tjeker and Appendix).

5.3 Israelite King David's territory and Asher

According to biblical narratives, after King David was crowned king of the United Monarchy in c. 1003 B.C., he was joined by all twelve tribes of Israel, including Asher (1

[8] *Ecclesiastes* (Hebrew: *Koheleth*) is one of 24 books of the *Tanakh* or Hebrew Bible, where it is classified as one of the *Ketuvim*. Originally written c. 450–200 BCE, it is also among the canonical Wisdom Books in the *Old Testament* of most denominations of Christianity.

Chronicles 11:36). After Abiba'al died in c. 981 B.C., his son Hiram succeeded him and sent messengers to King David with artisans and materials and built him a house (2 Samuel 5:11)[9].

Before he died in c. 970 B.C., King David ordered a census of his people, which included Israelites in the north around the Galilee, Tyre, and Sidon (2 Samuel 24, 1 Chronicles 21), territories previously allotted to the tribe of Asher.

2 Samuel 24:6-7
6 And they came to Gilead, and to the land of Tahtim-hodshi; and they came to Dan to the city of Jaan and round about to Zidon.
וַיָּבֹאוּ הַגִּלְעָדָה וְאֶל־אֶרֶץ תַּחְתִּים חָדְשִׁי וַיָּבֹאוּ דָּנָה יַּעַן וְסָבִיב אֶל־צִידוֹן׃
7 And they came to the stronghold of Tyre, and to all the cities of the Hivites, and of the Canaanites; and they went out to the South of Judah, to Beer-sheba.
וַיָּבֹאוּ מִבְצַר־צֹר וְכָל־עָרֵי הַחִוִּי וְהַכְּנַעֲנִי וַיֵּצְאוּ אֶל־נֶגֶב יְהוּדָה בְּאֵר שָׁבַע׃

The Israelite kingdom would have included a representative from each of the twelve tribes. However, the northern Asherites may have assimilated so much with the Tyrians that King David listed no chief officer for the tribe of Asher (1 Chronicles 27:16-24) at that time.

5.4 King Hiram and King Solomon

Shortly after Solomon was anointed king, God appeared to him in a dream (1 Kings 3:5-13). After taking over from his father, King Solomon had twelve officials throughout the Israelite territories (1 Kings 4:7):

7 And Solomon had twelve officers over all Israel, who provided victuals for the king and his household, each man had to make provision for a month in the year.
וּלְשְׁלֹמֹה שְׁנֵים־עָשָׂר נְצָבִים עַל־כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל וְכִלְכְּלוּ אֶת־ כתיב הַמֶּלֶךְ וְאֶת־בֵּיתוֹ חֹדֶשׁ בַּשָּׁנָה יִהְיֶה עַל־הָאֶחָד לְכַלְכֵּל (אֶחָד)׃

They included "Baana the son of Husahi, in Asher and the Ladders (of Tyre)" (Lipinski 1991: 166; 1 Kings 4:16):

16 Baana the son of Hushai (was) in Asher and in Aloth.
טזבַּעְנָא בֶן־חוּשָׁי בְּאָשֵׁר וּבְעָלוֹת׃

King Solomon asked Tyre's King Hiram to help him build the temple in Jerusalem using the best cedar woods and a qualified artisan to manage the project (1 Kings 5:6 or 1 Kings 5:20 in the Hebrew Bible):

> "Now therefore, *command* that they cut for me cedars from Lebanon, and my servants will be with your servants; and I will give you wages for your servants according to all that you say, for you know that there is no one among us who knows how to cut timber like the Sidonians."

[9] 2 Samuel 5:11
11 Then Hiram king of Tyre sent messengers to David with cedar trees and carpenters and stonemasons, and they built a house for David

King Hiram agreed (1 Kings 5:8) and blessed Solomon in the Israelite tradition (2 Chronicles 2:10-11)[10]: "Blessed is the Lord the God of Israel, Who made the heavens and the earth"?

Hiram sent an artificer from Tyre who was also named Hiram. He was skilled with the different metals, yarns, engravings, etc. (2 Chronicles 2:6)[11]. The artificer's mother was from the tribe of Naphtali (1 Kings 7:14)[12], while her mother (the artificer's grandmother) was from Dan (2 Chronicles 2:13)[13]. His father was an Israelite named Ur who was also from Tyre (*AJ* 8.3.4)[14] and likely from the tribe of Asher.

It took twenty years to complete construction of the Israelite temple as well as Solomon's palace in Jerusalem. During that period, King Solomon sent Tyre food every year. He built cities throughout his kingdom. Like the Asherites who intermixed with the Tyrian-Canaanites and adopted their cultural practices, King Solomon married non-Israelite women (all the way from an Egyptian princess from the south to Sidonian women of the north) and adopted their religious customs (1 Kings 11). He would go on to sell the "Land of Cabul", or basically the territory of Asher (Lemaire 1991: 151-2), to King Hiram (1 Kings 9:10-13).

The Bible refers to inhabitants of the northern coastal strip of Canaan as Sidonians or Canaanites. King Solomon's partners may have been a blend of Israelites (from the tribe of Asher) and local Tyrian-Canaanites who cherished other gods, such as Ba'al, Astarte, Melkart, El and others. They would have shared the same customs, language, and alphabet. Although King Hiram's Tyre was technologically more advanced than the Israelite tribes and enjoyed a wealthy economy based on a superb maritime-infrastructure that facilitated favorable trade, it

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[10] 2 Chronicles 2:10-11
10 "And Huram the king of Tyre said in writing, and sent to Solomon, "Because of the Lord's love for His people, He made you king over them."
11 And Huram the king of Tyre said, "Blessed is the Lord, the God of Israel, Who made the heavens and the earth, Who gave King David a wise son, endowed with intelligence and understanding, who will build a House for the Lord and a house for his kingdom."

[11] 2 Chronicles 2:6
6 And now, send me a wise man to work with gold, with silver, with copper, with iron, and with purple, crimson, and blue yarn, and who knows how to make engravings with the wise men that are with me in Judah and in Jerusalem, whom my father David prepared.

[12] 1 Kings 7:14
14 He (was) a widow's son, of the tribe of Naphtali, and his father was a man of Tyre, a coppersmith; and he was filled with the wisdom and understanding and skill, to work all works in copper; and he came to king Solomon and wrought all his work.

[13] 2 Chronicles 2:13
13 The son of a woman of the daughters of Dan, and his father was a Tyrian man, who knew how to work with gold, with silver, with copper, with iron, with stones, with wood, with purple, with blue, and with fine linen and with crimson yarn, and to engrave all types of engravings, and to devise ideas, [to do] what is given to him with your wise men and the wise men of my lord, your father David".

[14] Josephus: *AJ* 8.3.4
Now Solomon sent for an artificer out of Tyre, whose name was Hiram; he was by birth of the tribe of Naphtali, on the mother's side, (for she was of that tribe) but his father was Ur, of the stock of the Israelites. This man was skillful in all sorts of work; but his chief skill lay in working in gold, and silver, and brass; by whom were made all the mechanical works about the temple, according to the will of Solomon.

was only in the 8th century B.C. that differences began to appear between the Hebrew and Phoenician alphabets (Pardee 2017; Zamora Lopez 2018).

Solomon's riches were vast (1 Kings 10:1-29) and enhanced by his partnership with King Hiram to reach Tarshish (1 Kings 10:22-23)[15]. The two kings opened a trade route over the Red Sea, connecting the Israelite harbor of Ezion-Geber (near the modern ports of Aqaba, Jordan and Eilat, Israel) with Ophir (2 Chronicles 8:17)[16]. The name "Ophir" was found in 1946 in a pottery shard in Tell Qasile bearing a Paleo-Hebrew script: "gold of Ofir to Beth-Horon […] 30 shekels" (Maisler [Mazar] 1951b: 265; 1950-51b: 209-10; Boardman 1982: 480; Kitchen 1997: 144).

The possible location of Ophir has been a subject of controversy and has yet to be determined. Josephus (*AJ* 8.6.4) placed Ophir in India, as did Basham (1954: 232) who suggested that Ophir was the port city of Sopara (near modern Mumbai, India). Lipinski (2004) indicated it was somewhere in the Mediterranean. Others associated Ophir with Egyptian Punt, based on similarities with other Solomon's exotic goods imported from Punt (Pratico 1985).

Hiram also extended the Tyrian harbor, enlarged the city, and constructed a royal palace and a temple for the god Melkart (Josephus: *AJ* 1.17). However, modern archaeology has yet to find supporting evidence for these expansions (Demand 2011: 230). During Solomon's reign, Israel and Tyre enjoyed great commercial prosperity, with extensive traffic by land with Egypt and Arabia, and by sea with Tarshish, Ophir and South India.

The two kings pooled their respective resources to acquire the vaunted pure gold of Ophir (Isaiah 13:12[17]; Psalm 45:9[18]; Job 22:24[19] and 28:16[20]), and both kings were made very rich (1 Kings 10:14)[21]. They also imported exotic goods. The fleets of the Red Sea (2 Chronicles 8:17-18)[22] must also have exported products to Ophir (e.g. Israelite agricultural goods like olive oil, wine, honey, balm, and nuts; and Tyrian luxury consumer goods). King Solomon had his own fleets in addition to King Hiram's. The maritime commercial partnership between the Tyrian and

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[15] 1 Kings 10:22-23
22 For the king had at sea ships of Tarshish with Hiram's ships; once in three years, the ships of Tarshish would come bearing gold and silver, ivory and monkeys and peacocks.
23 So King Solomon became greater than all the kings of the earth in riches and in wisdom.…
[16] 2 Chronicles 8:17
17 Then Solomon went to Ezion-Geber and to Eloth on the seashore; in the land of Edom
[17] Isiah 13:12
12 I will make mortal man scarcer than pure gold And mankind than the gold of Ophir.
[18] Psalm 45:9
9 Kings' daughters are among your noble ladies; At Your right hand stands the queen in gold from Ophir.
[19] Job 22:24
24 And place your gold in the dust, And the gold of Ophir among the stones of the brooks
[20] Job 28:16
16 It cannot be valued in the gold of Ophir, In precious onyx, or sapphire.
[21] 1 Kings 10:14
14 The weight of gold which came to Solomon in one year was 666 talents of gold (39,960 pounds).
[22] 2 Chron.8:17-18
17 Then Solomon went to Ezion-Geber and to Eloth on the seashore in the land of Edom.
18 And Huram sent him through his servants ships and servants who had knowledge of the sea, and they came with Solomon's servants to Ophir, and they took from there four hundred and fifty talents of gold and brought it to King Solomon.

Israelite kingdoms included three areas of shared interest: a) ship building b) crewing and c) navigation:

a) Ship building:

Once King Solomon recognized the tremendous potential of maritime commerce, he joined the Tyrians on their sea-routes. He wanted to learn their skills and invested in his own naval-fleets (Beitzel 2010: 52). The biblical texts describe how Solomon and Hiram built a merchant fleet at Ezion-Geber, near Eilat on the Red Sea (1 Kings 9:26)[23].

b) Crewing:

Israelite mariners learned the ways of the sea from the very best and most experienced maritime-teachers in the ancient world. Israelite and Tyrian seamen jointly participated in crewing a common navy (2 Chronicles 9:21[24]; 1 Kings 9:27[25]).

c) Navigation:

A transfer of technology from Tyre allowed both kingdoms to enjoy the benefits of advanced navigation techniques (2 Chronicles 8:18):

> "And Huram sent him through his servants ships and servants who had knowledge of the sea, and they came with Solomon's servants to Ophir, and they took from there four hundred and fifty talents of gold and brought it to King Solomon."

5.5 Tarshish

The identity of Tarshish has been subject of controversy since about 600 B.C. Some historians and researchers regard the expression "ships of Tarshish" (1 Kings 10:22) as a general term for ships sailing on long-distance voyages (García Bellido 1953; Koch 2003: 201-14). For others, Tarshish refers to foreign lands (Conteneau 1949) or to certain countries with precious ore mines (Albright 1941: 14 ff.).

The historian Flavius Josephus (c. 100 A.D.: *AJ* 1.6.1) identified Tarshish with Tarsus, Cilicia in south central Turkey. The *Septuagint* (the Greek version of the *Old Testament*), and the *Vulgate* (Latin translation) translated Tarshish as Carthage (Ezekiel 27:12). The Jewish-Portuguese scholar Isaac Abarbanel (1437-1508 A.D.) also considered Tarshish to be Carthage.

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[23] 1 Kings 9:26
26 King Solomon made a ship in Etzion Geber, which is beside Eloth on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom.
[24] 2 Chronicles 9:21
21 For the king had ships going to Tarshish with Huram's servants; once in three years ships of Tarshish would come, bearing gold and silver, ivory and monkeys and parrots.
[25] 1 Kings 9:27
27 And Hiram sent his servants to serve as shipmen in the navy, those that had knowledge of the sea, with the servants of Solomon.

Christian traveler and historian Sextus Julius Africanus (160-240 A.D.) thought Tarshish was another name for Rhodes or Cyprus (Syncellus, *Chronography:* 380). Others believe that Tarshish was the island of Sardinia (Thompson and Skaggs 2013) since it was known as a hub for metals-trading. The editors of the *New Oxford Annotated Bible* (Metzger and Murphy 1991: annotation on Jeremiah 10:9) suggested that Tarshish was either Sardinia or Tartessos.

Modern authors are divided between Tarsus in Cilicia (Conteneau 1949: 235; Bérard 1960: 129; Boardman 1965: 15; Tackholm 1965: 143; Culican 1966: 77) and Tartessos in Iberia (Schulten 1945: 54; Mazzarino 1947: 272; García Bellido 1953: 170; Picard and Picard 1958: 265, n.7; Harden 1962: 160; Koch 2003: 201; Álvarez 2007: 492; Torres Ortiz 2014: 251; Celestino Pérez and López-Ruiz 2016: 111).

5.6 Tarshish in Iberia

Tarshish was previously identified as the city of Tartessos in southern Spain by scholars like J. Boropio Becano in the 16th century A.D., Juan de Mariana in 1601, and Juan de Pineda in 1609 (*De rebus Salomonis Regos libri octo*) (Alvar 2013: 103). They were followed by others like Bochart (1646) the French Protestant priest and Hertz (1936).

According to the Bible, Tarshish was very far away because three years were needed to go there and back again from the Levant (1 Kings 10:22):

22 For the king had at sea ships of Tarshish with Hiram's ships; once in three years, the ships of Tarshish would come bearing gold and silver, ivory and monkeys and peacocks.

כבכִּי אֳנִי תַרְשִׁישׁ לַמֶּלֶךְ בַּיָּם עִם אֳנִי חִירָם אַחַת לְשָׁלֹשׁ שָׁנִים תָּבוֹא | אֳנִי תַרְשִׁישׁ נֹשְׂאֵת זָהָב וָכֶסֶף שֶׁנְהַבִּים וְקוֹפִים וְתֻכִּיִּים׃

Subsequent sources referred to it as a city, a mountain and even a river (Guadalquivir). Herodotus (*Hist.* I.163, IV.152) described it as being beyond the Pillars of Heracles. Aristotle claimed that the river of Tartessos rose from the Pyrene Mountain (i.e. the Pyrenees) and flowed out to sea outside the Pillars of Hercules, the modern Strait of Gibraltar (Freeman 2010: 303-334). However, no such river currently traverses Iberia.

The region of Tarshish was located more precisely in an area that today encompasses Huelva, Cadiz and Seville (Figure 5.4); although it seems that it also extended to the Portuguese Algarve. According to Schulten and Bonsor (Maier 1999: 262), Tartessos/Tarshish was buried under the Coto Doñana (the combined marshlands and dunes at the mouth of the Guadalquivir that are now protected as a National Park); others claim it was under Seville... or Huelva… and so on. According to Culican (1991: 520, cf Ephorus 405-340 B.C.: *Ps. Escimno* 162.8) Tartessos was "two days' sail beyond the Pillars of Hercules and calls it a city and an emporium exporting river-borne tin from 'Celtic parts'."

Figure 5.4: Map of Tartessos (Tarshish)

Pausanias (2nd century A.D.: 6.19.3) identified the river and detailed the location of the city:

> "They say that Tartessos is a river in the land of the Iberians, running down into the sea by two mouths and that between these two mouths lays a city of the same name. The river, which is the largest in Iberia and tidal, those of a later day called Baetis and there are some who think that Tartessos was the ancient name of Carpia, a city of the Iberians."

The region of Tartessos ecompassed both banks of the Tartessos river and included a lake, *Lacus Ligustinus*, between the river arms in which at least one island included the legendary capital city. Today, there is no such lake or island. The Greek geographer Strabo (c. 1st century B.C. to c. 1st century A.D., *Geog.* III.2.11) wrote:

> "The mountain in which the river Baetis is said to rise [in southern Iberia] is called 'Silver Mountain' on account of the silver-mines that are in it . . . The ancients seem to have called the Baetis River [of Hispania] 'Tartessos'; and to have called Gades and the adjoining islands 'Erytheia'; and this is supposed to be the reason why Stesikhoros spoke as he did about [Eurytion] the neat-herd of Geryon, namely, that he was born 'about opposite famous Erytheia, beside the unlimited, silver-rooted springs of the river Tartessos, in a cavern of a cliff.' Since the river had two mouths, a city was planted on the intervening territory in former times, it is said, --a city which was called 'Tartessos,' after the name of the river . . ."

Despite many detailed descriptions, the geography landscape has changed dramatically over the past 2500 years, and the capital of Tartessos has yet to been found. Nonetheless, the general consensus is that Tarsis, Tarshish or Tartessos all relate to the same area, covering sections of southern Spain and southern Portugal. Even biblical critics generally associate what Greek and Roman writers identified for hundreds of years as Tartessos with biblical Tarshish. Tarshish was rich in iron, tin, lead and silver. Silver was extracted from mines in the southern Iberian regions such as Huelva, Cordoba, Jaen and Ossa Morena (Thompson and Skaggs 2013).

The word Tarshish appears in the *Old Testament* 28 times: four deal with personal names (i.e. Genesis 10:4; 1 Chronicles 1:7; 1 Chronicles 7:10 and Esther 1:14); another 24 deal with ship-building, maritime activity and most often trade. More than a hundred years prior to the first recorded Israelite fleet sailing to Tarshish, Tyrian seafarers (some of which may have been of Asherite ancestry) sailed west in search of trade-opportunities.

According to Strabo (*Geog.* III.5.5)[26] they founded Gadir (later named Gades; today Cadiz, Spain). Gadir was a naturally protected port located beyond the Pillars of Hercules and near the southern apex of today's Andalucía. Gadir was a stable base of operations to facilitate commerce and trade. It became the most important Tyrian port in the Atlantic Ocean.[27]

Tyrians were not the only East Mediterranean people with commercial ties to Iberian Tarshish. Another group was the Tjeker that resided in northern Canaan and Cyprus. They probably conducted business in Iberia between the 12th–10th centuries B.C. (see Chapter 14: Tjeker in Iberia). By the 5th century B.C., Tarshish ceased to exist as an entity and was no longer identified in the Bible. Instead, it began referring to Iberia as *Sefarad* (Obadiah 1:20)[28] which likely included the geographical area of Tarshish (Zorea 2016b).

5.7 Kings die

After Tyrian King Hiram I died about 947 B.C., he was succeeded by his son Ba'al-Eser I (Beleazarus) and later by his grandson Abdastartus. Hiram I was mentioned in the writings of Menander of Ephesus (c. early 2nd century B.C.). Josephus referenced these writing in his historic records. His work complements the biblical account and according to his writings (Josephus: *AJ* 1.18, cf Menader of Ephesus), Hiram lived 53 years and reigned 34 years.

According to biblical narratives, King Solomon created the wealthiest and most powerful central government the Israelites would ever see, but at a high cost. He gave Tyre land to pay for his extravagances. Following Solomon's death c. 930 B.C., tensions between the northern Israelite tribes (the ten tribes less the tribe of Asher) and the two southern tribes surrounding Jerusalem brewed. When Solomon's son and successor Rehoboam demanded even higher taxes than those burdened by his father, the northern tribes revolted and the once United Kingdom of Israel split into smaller states surrounded by larger regional players in the Middle East (Figure 5.5).

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[26] Strabo (III.5.5) provides the most extensive description about the foundation of Gadir. He mentions two previous attempts to settle in Sexi (Almuñecar) and Onoba (Huelva) but both failed because of divine providence (rites and oracles).

[27] The foundation of Gadir is a debatable issue, since the majority of the sources available today were written more than a millennium after the possible fact occurred. According to Velleius Paterculus (c. 19 B.C. – 31 A.D.; *Roman History* I.2.1), who may have used Posedonius of Apameia (135 – c. 51 B.C.) as a source, the founding of Gadir took place 80 years after the fall of Troy. It seems that other classical authors like Strabo (I.3.2) and Mela (III.45) may have also based their writings on Valleius Paterculus' work.

[28] Obadiah 1:20

20 And this exiled host of the children of Israel who are [with] the Canaanites as far as Zarephath and the exile of Jerusalem which is in Sepharad shall inherit the cities of the southland.

Figure 5.5: Map showing the Kingdom of Israel (blue) and the Kingdom of Judah (orange) (after *Wikipedia*)

In the north, the Kingdom of Israel included the cities of Shechem and Samaria. The northern Kingdom of Israel selected Jeroboam, a former rebel against Solomon, as their first king. Jeroboam allowed the worship of Yahweh to become associated with a local Canaanite bull cult, a blasphemy considered so heinous in the biblical account that it justified all the disasters followed. In the south, the Kingdom of Judah covered a much smaller territory and included Jerusalem where Rehoboam ruled over the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin.

The three kingdoms (Tyre, Israel, and Judah) remained autonomous for over two hundred years. However, as history has proved time and again, being small in this region was a major liability. Most of the peripheral non-Israelite provinces reclaimed their independence. In the north, Ammon effectively seceded from the Kingdom of Israel. In the south, Moab successfully revolted against the Kingdom of Judah.

In the 8th century B.C. Assyria devastated the region. They attacked both Tyre and the northern Kingdom of Israel. Tyrians fled across the Mediterranean and to Iberia in particular. Assyrians destroyed Samaria and ended the northern Kingdom of Israel in 722 B.C. In the early-6th century B.C. Babylonia conquered the Kingdom of Judah and destroyed the Jerusalem temple in 587 B.C.

Chapter 6: Tjeker

Scholars often cite a late 13th century B.C. economic crisis and changing weather patterns as inspiring the emergence of a coalition of "Sea Peoples" who attacked the Levant and Egypt and who were thwarted by Ramesses III c. 1175 B.C. as depicted by the Medinet Habu friezes. Cline (2014: 156) named various sources who subscribe to the above idea and quoted Kaniewski *et al.* (2011) as capturing that essence:

> "The Sea Peoples were seaborne foes from different origins. They launched a combined land-sea invasion that destabilized the already weakened power base of empires and kingdoms of the old world, and attempted to enter or control the Egyptian territory. The Sea Peoples symbolize the last step of a long and complex spiral of decline in the ancient Mediterranean world."

This chapter explores such views and the group of Sea Peoples known as the Tjeker.

1. Origins

The name "Tjeker" comes from Medinet Habu's Egyptian *tkr* or *skl*, which have been read as "Tjekru," "Sikil," "Djekker" (Mazar, A. 2008: 97), "Sical" (Lipinski 2006: 96), "Sikila" (Stern, 2000) and "Tjekel" (Stiebing 2016). Like other Sea Peoples groups, the precise geographic origin of the Tjeker is uncertain. Several of these possible regions and sites are described below (Figure 6.1).

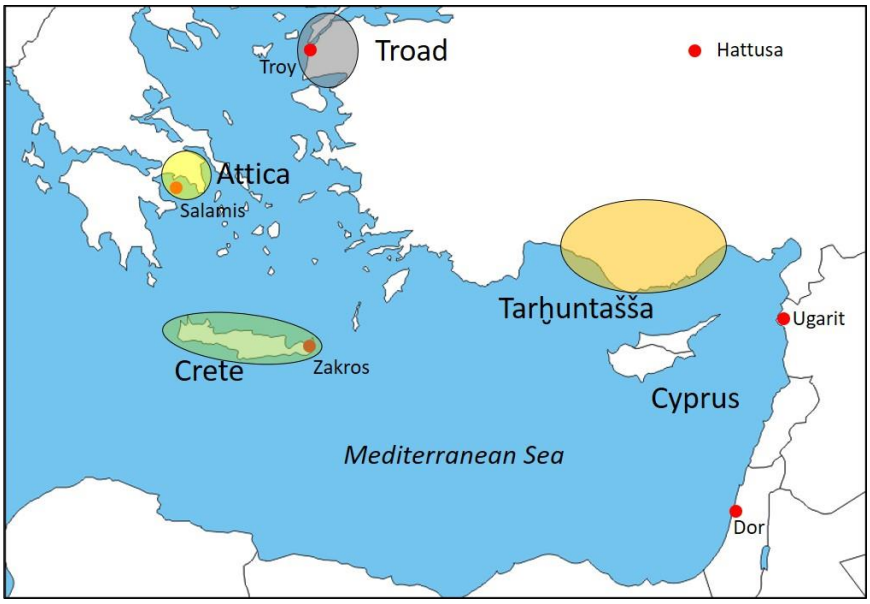


Figure 6.1: Tjeker origins - Possible regions or sites

Some scholars have linked the Tjeker to Trojan War veterans like Teucer (Servius on *Aen.* 1.619-621; Barnett 1975: 376; Sandars 1985) and the Teucri (Chabas 1872). Ancient Troy was located in the northwestern coastal region of Anatolia called Troad (or Troas), which is the modern-day Biga Peninsula of Cannakkale province (Turkey) (Cline 2013: 34; Ursu 2017: 18, no. 4). The main source of information about the Trojan War comes from the 8th century B.C. Homeric epic, *The Iliad*. Accordingly, Teucer (or Teucros, Teocrus, or Teucris) was an accomplished archer from the Greek island of Salamis off the west coast of Attica, fought alongside his half-brother Telamonian Ajax and was one of the warriors who hid in the Trojan horse before sacking Troy and surviving the war (Hyginus: *Fabulae* 114).

Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*A.R.* 1.61) traced Teucer to Troad via Attica. Virgil (*Aen.* 3.104) traced Teucer to Troad via Crete, having left the island with a third of its inhabitants due to famine. Strabo (*Geogr.* 13, 1, 48) wrote two accounts: that Teucrians came from Crete; and that others said that Teucer came from Troes in Attica and that no Teucrians came from Crete. Redford (1992: 252) suggested the Tjeker may be from Zakros in eastern Crete.

Mederos Martín (2003-2004: 126) detailed the existence of two Teucers. The first Teucer helped found the Trojan dynasty; the second Teucer was one of his descendants and born to Hesione of Troy (*ibid.*, cf Hom.: *Il.* VIII.284; Hes., Frag. 250; Pind.: *Ist.* VI.53; Sof.: *Ay.*1299-1303; Eurip.: *Andr.* 796; Apolod. *Bib.* II.6.4, III.12.7; Didod. Sic.: IV.42.6; Ov.: *Met.* XI.269; Hig.: *Fab.*89). It was this second Teucer, son of Telamon, who was the master archer who fought in the Trojan war against his uncle, king Priam, and who would go on to found Salamis in Cyprus as well as other sites in the Mediterranean (2003-2004: 126). Mederos Martín (2007: 93-94) noted that campaigns by Hittite kings Tudhaliya IV and Šuppiluliuma II displaced *tkr* (Tjeker) from Tarhuntassa, a south-central Anatolian region of the Hittite empire south of the capital Hattussa, and that the Tjeker found refuge in Canaan and Crete.

Before Ugarit's destruction c. 1185 B.C., tablet RS 34.129 (Schaeffer 1978: pl. 11) (Figure 6.2) from the "Great King" of the Hittites (presumably Šuppiluliuma II) to the king of Ugarit (presumably Ammurapi) warned about the "Shikala who live on ships" (Robbins 2001: 190; Stern 2013; Cline 2014: 155; Salimbeti 2015). Several scholars have translated these to be the Tjeker (Albright 1934: 65; Rainey 1982: 134; Stager 1991; Robbins 2001: 187) (see Chapter 6.2).

Figure 6.2: RS 34.129 (after Schaeffer 1978)

Papyrus Harris I (Wilson 1969: 262, n.6) describes Ramesses III's Year 8 battles against the Sea People and states:

> "I extended all the frontiers of Egypt and overthrew those who attacked them from their lands. I slew the Denyen in their islands, while the **Tjeker** and the Philistines were made ashes."

The friezes of Medinet Habu depict Egypt victories in c. 1175 B.C. when they defeated the Sea Peoples and Tjeker in the land Battle of Djahi and the naval Battle of the Delta. The Tjeker wore the so-called "feathered" (or "Philistine") headdress, a leather cap and an ornamental headband, from which a row of slightly curving strips stands upright to form a kind of tiara (Dothan, T. 1967: 14; Mountjoy 2005: 426; Yasur-Landau 2012: 28), similarly to those used by the Philistines and the Greeks (Sandars 1985: 120-124; D'Amato and Salimbeti 2015). Regardless of whether the strips are feathers, leather strips, or horsehair, this head-covering is the distinguishing mark of the group (Dothan, T. 1982b) (see Chapter 2: Philistines, Chapter 15: Mycenaeans).

The Sea Peoples' ships are depicted as oared galleys with single sails and with finials in the shape of water birds at prow and stern. These resemble the bird-boat painted on a krater from Tiryns[29] (LH IIIC) (Bouzek 1985: 177 fig. 88: 6; Wachsmann 1996) (Figure 6.3), another clue to their Aegean background. Engravings of similarly-featured boats were found in Cyprus (Enkomi), Canaan (Akko and Carmel) and Iberia (Pontevedra) (see Chapter 13 and Chapter 14).

Figure 6.3: Bird-boat sherd of Tiryns (after Bouzek 1985)

Stager (1998: 160) summarized:

> "All of this evidence – their beachheads, the coastal pattern of destruction (followed in many cases by new cities with Myc IIIC pottery), the references related to living on ships, leave no doubt that the Sea Peoples… had the necessary maritime technology and transport capacity to command and control invasions by sea."

Then, based on findings of the Tale of Wenamun and Onomasticon of Amenope, researchers attributed a Tjeker presence to Dor and south of Akko c. 1100 B.C. and believed that

[29] The citadel of Tiryns is a major archaeological site located in Argolis (Peloponnese, a few kilometers north of Nafplio) near Mycenae. It was only about a mile from the sea and therefore, by the Middle Helladic period, it controlled the trade routes between the mainland and other Aegean centers.

the Sherden occupied the region of Akko and to the north (Stern 2000b: 204, cf Dothan, M. 1986; 1993: 20-21; Artzy 2006: 81, cf Dothan, M. 1986: 107; Stern 2013: 18, cf Dothan, M. 1986: 106; 1989b: 60; Dothan and Dothan 1992: 213-215; Yasur-Landau 2006).

2. Zorea Model

In contrast to some of the above-described interpretations, I propose that the Sea Peoples including the Tjeker have roots going back before the late 13th/ early 12th centuries B.C. By drawing on the prior chapters of this work, as well as by integrating and interpreting the archaeological finds (see Chapters 7-12), this chapter describes my interpretation ("Zorea Model") of the Tjeker's history in the Levant beyond just the port of Dor.

According to the Zorea Model, the Tjeker were one group of peoples of the sea whose material culture was present in and around Cyprus, Ugarit and northern Canaan (see Chapter 7) (Figure 6.4). They traveled with their master metalsmiths who manufactured bronze objects with locally-sourced materials. Some of these objects included superior weaponry, a key advantage over opponents in the battle-field.

However, they were defeated by the Egyptians in the Battle of Djahi c. 1175 B.C., and found refuge back in Cyprus where they built industrial sites and invigorated urban centers. They came back to northern Canaan c. 1130 B.C., defeated the Egyptians in their garrisons along the International Highway, made Dor their capital, and inhabited it and other northern Canaan sites over the next c. 150 years.

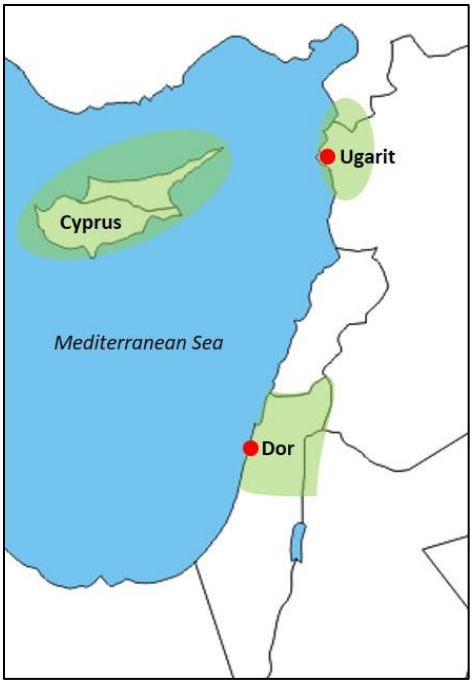


Figure 6.4: Map of Cyprus, Ugarit and northern Canaan

Part II of this dissertation explores over two dozen sites in Cyprus, Ugarit and Canaan and the interconnectivity of their finds that reflects an assemblage of evidence of Tjeker presence in these areas. In so doing, the Zorea Model may also help resolve numerous controversies related to several of these sites/regions.

Part III of this work walks through finds in Iberia and the Western Mediterranean. According to the Zorea Model, the Tjeker helped to bridge the connectivity gap between East and West during the 12th–10th centuries B.C., about two centuries before the appearance of the Phoenicians in the West.

3. 14th century B.C.

As described in more detail in Chapter 7 (Cyprus and Ugarit), the 14th century B.C. central and eastern Mediterranean included a family of communities who shared maritime trade and similar elements of material culture. They were spread across the Aegean, Cyprus, Near East and Canaan. Still, there was conflict between Mycenaeans (or Ahhiyawans) and Hittites as early as c. 1400 B.C. (Kelder 2012: 57). Hittite king Šuppiluliuma I (c. 1344-1322 B.C.) steadily expanded his empire in Anatolia and beyond to the Levant and Upper Mesopotamia (Matessi 2017: 143) and overtook parts of the Mitanni empire (Collins 2007: 48). During the Hittite New Kingdom period, "deportations were mentioned more often in the annals and in other historiographic texts compared to older historiographic Hittite texts from the Old and Middle Hittite periods" and are obvious during the reigns of Šuppiluliuma I and his son Muršili II (c. 1321-1295 B.C.) (Sazonov 2019: 79).

On the other hand, there was an Aegean-Egypt partnership. Amenhotep III (18th Dynasty) established an Egyptian embassy in Mycenae to build diplomatic ties with the Aegean (Cline 1991: 25). He signed treaties with rulers surrounding Hittite homelands and further cemented these treaties by marrying daughters of most of these kings (Cline 1991: 26; cf Schulman 1979: 183-185). These efforts were likely aimed at limiting the expansion and influence of the emerging Hittites (Cline 1991: 26; cf Schulman 1988: 59-60).

4. 13th century B.C.

Under Muwatalli II (c. 1295-1272 B.C.), the Hittite Empire continued to expand. Around the middle of his reign, he abandoned Hattusa and relocated to the south-central Anatolian city of Tarhuntassa, "providing him with a much more geographically convenient base than the old Hittite capital for launching his campaign into Syria" (Bryce 2005: 230-31). The Hittites battled Egypt in c. 1285 B.C. (against Seti I, 19th Dynasty) and again in c. 1275 B.C. (against his son Ramesses II) in Kadesh (Syria) (Figure 6.5), and in 1269 B.C. in the siege of Dapur (Syria), all captured in reliefs of Luxor and Abydos (Abbas 2017: 14-18). Under Mursili III (c. 1272-1267 B.C.), the Hittites restored the royal capital in Hattusa.

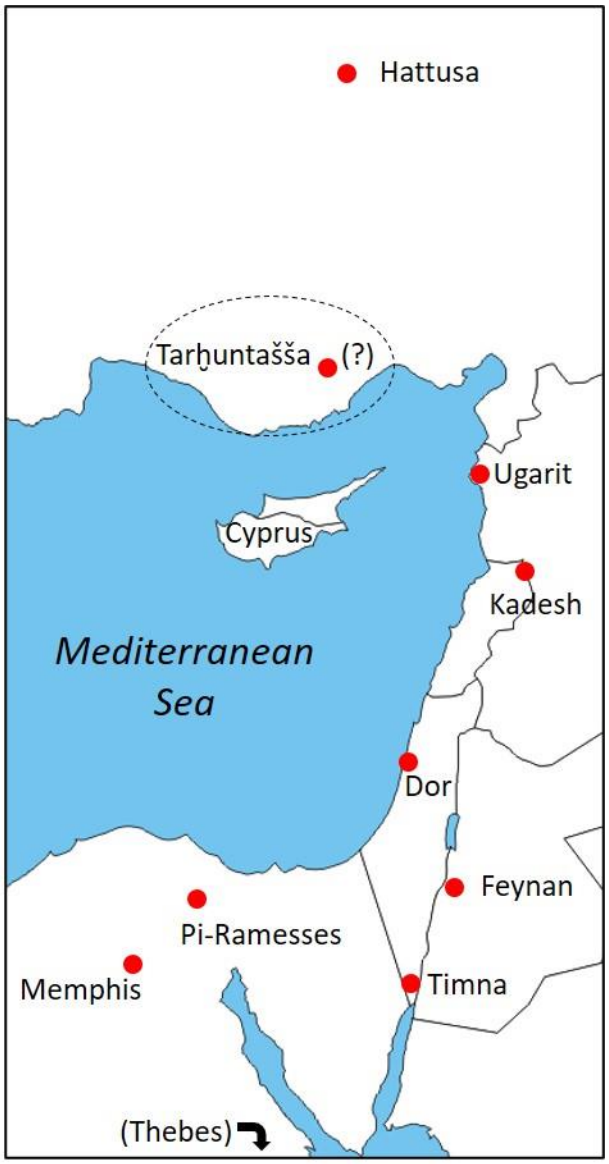


Figure 6.5: Map of notable sites, esp. Kadesh where the Hittites and Egyptians battled c. 1285 and 1275 B.C.

Unlike the 13th century B.C. crisis mentioned earlier, the Eternal or Silver Treaty of c. 1259 B.C. between the Hittites (Hattusili III, c. 1267-1237 B.C.) and the Egyptians (Ramesses II, c. 1279-1213) basically undid and reversed the previous Egyptian dynasty's and previous century's geo-political policies in the Levant. The two super-powers negotiated peace and mutual defense (Bryce 1998: 307), including against threats from Assyria (Bryce 2006: 4). What followed has sometimes been referred to as the *Pax Hethitica-Aegyptiaca.*

Ramesses II moved the capital from Thebes in southern Egypt and built Pi-Ramesses as Egypt's new capital in the northeastern and fertile Nile Delta. The new alliance connected the Hittites and their great vassal port-city of Ugarit with Egypt's great port-city of Pi-Ramesses (Figure 6.6). According to Bryce (1998: 357), "grain was probably imported from Egypt into

Anatolia via the Levantine ports on a regular basis, rather than on an occasional basis in response to a particular food shortage."

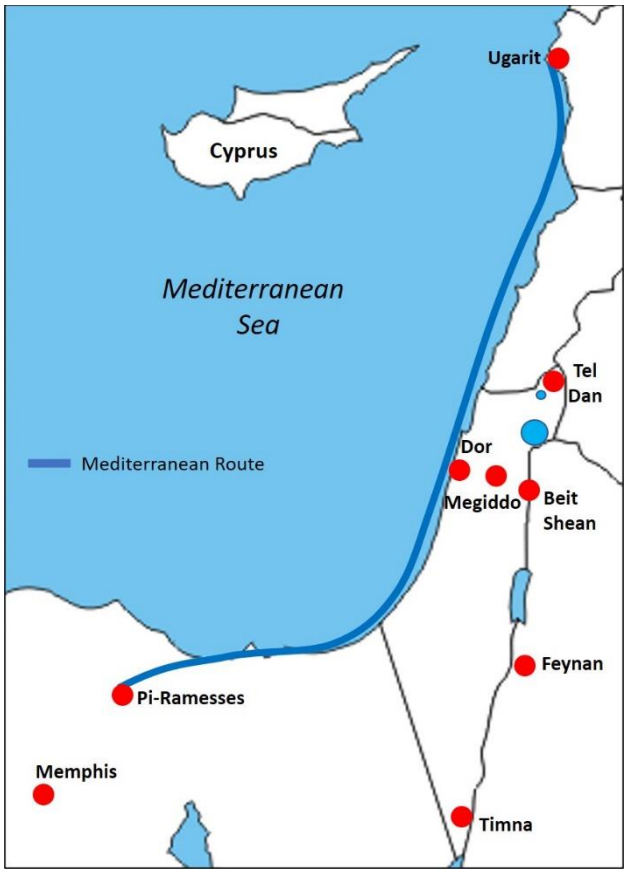


Figure 6.6: Mediterranean trade route between Pi-Ramesses and Ugarit

Ramesses II further reaffirmed the treaty by marrying two Hittite princesses, the first of which was Maat-hornofru-re, daughter of king Hattusili III (Pusch 2001: 49). His new capital even served as a military manufacturing complex for Hittite arms. Finds of shield molds "prove that Hittite workmen and soldiers, were present at Pi-Ramesses, living and interacting with Egyptians after the peace treaty between the Hittite king Hattusili III and Ramesses II" (Pusch and Herold 1999: 648, cf Pusch 1996).

The Hittite shields were manufactured using copper from the Timna mines (southern Arabah Valley) and possibly even from the Feynan mines (northern Arabah Valley) (Rademakers *et al.* 2017: 56; 2018: 519). Since there is no evidence of Hittite military actions in Egypt, perhaps these armaments were intended for Hittite soldiers in Anatolia or Syria. In other words, Egypt may have supplied its Hittite allies to the north with both food and arms.

The Mycenaean/ Tjeker may have responded with an evolving strategy to weaken and disrupt this north-south supply-chain where possible, including raids on grain shipments. Whether due to drought(s), redeploying Hittite manpower from agriculture to military activity, or

hostile interference with grain routes from Egypt (Bryce 1998: 322), both Egyptian and Ugaritic sources attest to ongoing Anatolian food-shortages. In the mid-13th century B.C., the Hittite queen Pudukhepa complained to Ramesses II that "there is no grain in my country"; the Hittites requested grain from Ugarit; and Karnak recorded Merneptah's late 13th century B.C. grain shipments to Hatti (Ahlström 1993: 292 cf Breasted 1906a: 244:§580:24-28; Wainwright 1960: 24ff; Bryce 1998: 322-3, 331, 341; Grabbe 2016: 67-70).

The Hittites countered. Hittite rule reached down the Levantine coast over areas north and south of Ugarit. According to Emanuel (2015: 18 cf Badre 2006: 82; Bryce 2005: 315-316; Jung 2007: 551-552; Sherratt and Crouwel 1987: 344-346):

> "It is possible that the cessation of Mycenaean imports to Alalakh at the beginning of LH IIIB is connected to Hittite domination of the region and to political tension between Hatti and Ahhiyaha, evidence for which may be seen in several Hittite documents."

During the reign of Hittite king Tudhaliya IV (c. 1237-1209 B.C.), the Hittites were also embattled with the Assyrians (Bryce 2003: 71). The *Šaušgamua* (or *Šauškamuwa*) Treaty references a Hittite ban of trade between Ahhiyawa (i.e. Mycenaeans) and Assyria via Amurru (south of Ugarit) and a blockade of merchandise from Ahhiyawan ships to Assyria (Bendall 2014: 155 cf Bryce 1989a: 304-305; 1998: 343; Cline 1991b; Younger 2017: 205-6).

Cline (2014: 149) noted:

> "… the cutting of the trade routes could have had a severe, and immediate, impact upon Mycenaean kingdoms such as Pylos, Tiryns, and Mycenae, which needed to import both the copper and the tin needed to produce bronze…"

With east-west trade being curbed north and south of Ugarit, it may have likewise been derailed in Ugarit itself. For centuries, Ugarit benefited from its strategic position to help distribute tin sourced from the East across the Levant and Cyprus (Pigott 2011: 287; Bell 2012: 181). However, the economic collapse made its availability on the coastal regions and Cyprus a serious issue (Kassianidou 2012). Sites, such as Enkomi in eastern Cyprus, that used to export copper ingots to Ugarit for processing or distribution now converted more of that copper into bronze themselves (Catling 1964: 278).

The first recorded naval battle occurred in c. 1210 B.C. when the Hittites defeated enemies in Alashya (Cyprus) (Warming 2019: 107, cf Gurney 1952: 1-32; Bryce 2007: 7), likely to curb Sea Peoples (Cline 2014: 155; Mountzourani *et al.* 2019: 110). The Hittites battled over Alashiya three times in the sea and once on land in an effort to control the island (Bryce 2005: 332; Mantzourani *et al.* 2019: 110). This may have contributed in part to some of the abandonments and destructions experienced on the island at the turn of the 13th/12th century B.C. (see Chapter 7: Cyprus and Ugarit).

In spite of these losses in the north, the Sea Peoples targeted the southern end of the north-south supply-chain. In Merneptah's Year 5 c. 1208 B.C., a contingent of Sea Peoples attacked Egypt and penetrated all the way to Pi-Ramesses. Merneptah withdrew the royal family

from the capital and perhaps moved to Memphis farther south where he had built, or would build, a palace (Bietak 2007: 441, cf Schulman 1987; von der Way 1992; Manassa 2003).

5. 12th century B.C.

Tjeker presence continued in northern Canaan, perhaps helping to ensure their naval blockade of the north-south trade route. However, Egyptian supplies may have continued flowing by land over the International Highway (i.e. Horus Way and Via Maris) (Figure 6.7). Consequently, another contingent of Aegeans (Philistines) successfully dismantled Egyptian garrisons in southern Canaan and took over the coastal trade route c. 1190 B.C. (see Chapter 2: Philistines).

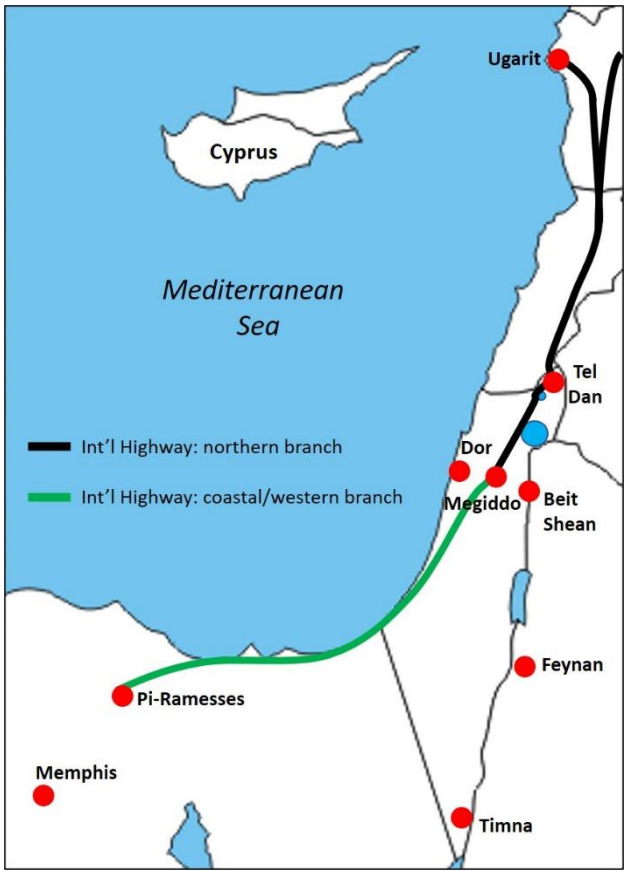


Figure 6.7: International Highway: coastal/western route

After the Trojan War, Teucer founded Salamis on Cyprus' east coast (Justin *Epitome* 44.3, cf Strabo III.4.3), north of modern Famagusta. According to Barnett (1975: 376), the Tjeker also seem to have settled in Enkomi, and Ramesses III mentioned a long list of enemies on the island including *Srmsk* (Salamis), *Ktn* (Kition), *'Imr* (Marion), *Sr* (Soli), and *Rtr* (Idalion).

One of the things that contributed to Ugarit's amazing success and wealth was its strategic position, centrally interconnecting east-west and north-south trade routes between the Aegean, Near East, and Egypt – or the *'Schnittpunkt'* of these routes (Bell 2012: 181, cf Stockfisch 1999). However, the Hittite blockade since the late 13th century B.C. described earlier likely meant that sites like Ugarit should have been exporting less goods to Cyprus, presumably including tin which the Cypro-Aegeans needed to produce bronze.

On the other hand, Ugaritic texts (e.g. RS 20.212, RS 94.2530, RS 94.2523) reveal that some of Ugarit's kings were repeatedly reprimanded by the Hittites for not complying with Hittite orders (de Martino 2018: 33; Singer 2017: 622). According to Devecchi (2019: 121, 132), "The new evidence reinforces the impression that the last kings of Ugarit regularly tried to shirk their obligations towards their Hittite suzerains…" and "The last three kings of Ugarit (Ibiranu, Niqmaddu III, and Ammurapi) are regularly scolded because they do not comply with two basic obligations of a good vassal: paying visits and sending presents to the Hittite court." In another example of non-compliance, according to Yasur-Landau (2010: 165), RS 34.143 (*ibid.*, cf Singer 1999: 723-4) noted that Ugarit's army camped in its northern border of Apshuna, and not in inland Mukish (or Alalakh) as ordered by the Hittites. Furthermore, RS 16.402 (*ibid.*, cf Singer 1999: 724-5) reported that the enemy was coming from Mukish.

Could Ugarit have exhausted its "attempt to exploit all available diplomatic channels in a context of general uncertainty and insecurity" (Devecchi 2019: 132) with the Hittites? Since "the kings of Ugarit did not lack occasions for betraying their overlords and siding with different enemies" (Devecchi 2019: 133), could Ugarit's repeated acts of insubordination reflect in part their maintaining of the east-west trade, and possible export of tin from the East?

If so, the Hittites and their last king Šuppiluliuma II may have eventually viewed Ugarit not as an asset, but as a liability. If Aegeanized pottery in and around Ugarit reflected Aegean presences to help secure access to tin, and if Sea Peoples were already disrupting north-south supply shipments, perhaps the destruction of such sites (Ugarit and its surrounding city ports [Stager 1998: 158], Arwad [Breasted 1906b: 34:§59-60], as well as inland sites such as Alalakh [Cline 2014: 151], Soloi, Mersin, Misis, Dagilbaz Ayn Dara, Catal Hoyuk, Judaidah, Ta-yinat and others [Lehmann 2013: 218, fig. 13]) was intended to more effectively cutoff Aegean access to tin from the East.

Cline (2014: 168) noted:

> "Thus, if the Late Bronze Age civilizations were truly globalized and dependent upon each other for goods and services, even just to a certain extent, then change to any one of the relevant kingdoms, such as the Mycenaeans or the Hittites, would potentially affect and destabilize them all."

Meanwhile, bronze production in Cyprus was further limited by the scarcity of the island's wood-supply, the basic energy source to process copper and tin (Muhly 1974). The Tjeker were running out of bronze which left them strategically vulnerable. While the Philistines occupied Philistia and blocked the western coastal branch of the International Highway, Egypt maintained a presence along the eastern inland branch of the International Highway, across the

Sinai to the Arabah (e.g. Timna) and Jordan Valleys (e.g. Beit Shan, Tell es-Sa'idiyeh) towards the northern Levant (Figure 6.8).

In Ramesses III's Year 8 c. 1175 B.C., Egypt and its Sherden mercenaries took advantage of the Tjeker relative weakness, perhaps using Megiddo as the launching grounds to attack and massacre Tjeker warriors, women and children in the Battle of Djahi in northern Canaan (see Chapter 4: Sherden). Ramesses III bragged about his great victory over the Sea Peoples in both the hieroglyphic text accompanying the Medinet Habu relief (Wilson 1974: 263) and in the Papyrus Harris I (Grandet 1994: 326-327).

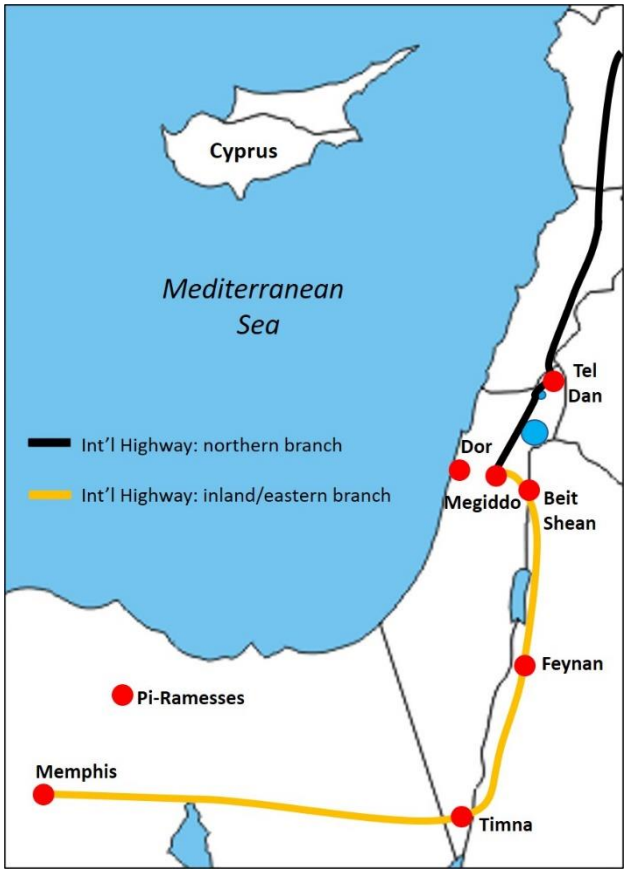


Figure 6.8: International Highway: inland/eastern route

Those Tjeker that survived the massacre found refuge in Cyprus. They re-organized and populated new settlements. They built Pyla Kokkinokremos (nearby Kition in the east) and Maa Palaeokastro (by Kouklia Palaepaphos in the west) from scratch. They operated industrial centers there and in Hala Sultan Tekke. The urgent need for tin inspired new entrepreneurial initiatives, such as bronze re-cycling (Sherratt 2000: 87-88; 2003: 41). Other Tjeker traveled west across the Mediterranean to source tin. They found it in Iberia, Brittany and Britannia (see Part III: Chapter 14). The Iberian Peninsula became renowned for its rich tin deposits (Merideth 1998: 29-31) and tin mining (Rodríguez Díaz *et al.* 2001, 2013).

In c. 1130 B.C. the Tjeker from Cyprus returned to Canaan (see Part II). They established themselves up the Carmel Valley and Coast (i.e. Ein Hagit, Shikmona) and would make Dor their capital, rebuilding it five times larger than its previous version (see Chapter 9). The Tjeker extended up the Akko Valley (i.e. Tell Keisan) (see Chapter 8). They expanded and took over Egyptian garrisons and other sites farther north to effectively choke Egypt's eastern branch of the International Highway. The Tjeker went into the Sharon Plain and its eastern highlands (i.e. Tel Zeror, Tell Jatt, Dothan) (see Chapter 9), the Jezreel Valley (i.e. Megiddo, Tell Qiri, Yokneam, Afula, Tel Qashish, Hurvat Hazin, etc.) (see Chapter 10), east to the Jordan Valley (i.e. Beit Shean, Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, Tell el Mazar, Deir 'Alla) (see Chapter 12), up to the northern region (i.e. Hazor, Tel Dan, possibly Kamid el-Loz) (see Chapter 11), and down to the southern region (e.g. towards the copper mines of Feynan) (see Chapter 12).

Some of the Tjeker groups along the coasts traded and recycled metals. Others worked the land and traded agricultural products. Canaan once again included Cypro-Aegean pottery.

6. 11th century B.C.

In Cyprus, a late-12th century B.C. manufacturing slowdown was replaced with an 11th century B.C. increase in metal-trading. During the Final Cypriot (LC IIIB, 1100–1050 B.C.) some settlement-patterns changed, especially in Kition in the southeast and Kouklia-Palaepaphos in the south. Burial methods started to include tombs with corridors. The Sea Peoples controlled Cyprus, in particular in the region of Limasol in the bays of Episkopi (Kourion) and Akrotiri (Amathus) (Mederos Martín 1996: 111).

Around c. 1050 B.C., the Tjeker in northern Canaan rebuilt Dor (see Chapter 9) and further urbanized other sites like Tell Qasile (see Chapter 9), Megiddo (see Chapter 10), Tel Dan (see Chapter 11), Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Chapter 12). They produced bronze-works with copper from the Arabah Valley and imported silver from Iberia (see Chapter 8: esp. Tell Keisan).

7. 10th century B.C.

By c. 980 B.C., the Tjeker were defeated by Israelites. Some Tjeker elites may have escaped back to Cyprus and accounted for several other changes on the island. For example, more inbound Levantine artisans meant increased production of bronze objects in Cyprus (Catling 1964: 221-2). Also, early 10th century B.C. Tjeker tombs containing Berzocana-type bowls were found in several distant cities (i.e. Gastria-Alaas on the east coast, Kouklia-Skales and Amathus in the south, and Lapethos in the north) (see Appendix).

Perhaps the "Northern Sea Peoples" (Stern 2013: preface, 63), the "Other 'Philistines'" (Stern 2014: 30), "'Philistines' to the North" (Ngo 2018), and biblical "Philistines" which the Israelites defeated in northern Canaan (Chronicles 18:1) were name variations for the same group of Cypro-Aegean Sea Peoples known as the Tjeker.

8. Summary

The chronology of the Tjeker history (and thereby part of Sea Peoples history) in the Levant is summarized in Figure 6.9 and the trade routes are shown in Figure 6.10.

Date (B.C.)	***Event***
14th–13th centuries	18th Dynasty Egypt established diplomatic relations with the Aegean and other peripheral kings to contain Hittite expansion; there was ongoing conflict between the Aegeans and Hittites
c. 1285 and c. 1275	Battles of Kadesh: Hittites vs. Egyptians (19th Dynasty)
c. 1269	Siege of Dapur: Hittites vs. Egyptians
c. 1259	Hittites and Egypt signed first recorded peace treaty; Ramesses II (19th Dynasty) reversed policies dating back to Amenhotep III (18th Dynasty); this effectively secured commerce and trade from Egypt (Horus Way and Via Maris) up the International Highway to the Hittites
c. 1245	Ramesses II reinforced peace with Hittites by marrying a Hittite princess; he built Pi-Ramesses as Egypt's new capital in the Delta's northeast and manufactured Hittite weaponry; he also sent food to the Hittites through Ugarit
c. 1237	Ramesses II married another Hittite princess
Late 13th to early 12th centuries	Tjeker settled Cyprus and northern Canaan, and may have interrupted the Hittites' north-south supply-chain from Egypt; Hittites embargoed east-west trade between Aegeans and Assyrians; Battle of Cyprus: Hittites likely defeated Sea Peoples in first recorded naval battle
c. 1208	Hittites requested food shipments from Merneptah; Sea Peoples attacked Egypt in the Nile Delta and reached Pi-Ramesses; Merneptah abandoned Pi-Ramesses (further disruptions to the supply-chain from Egypt)
c. 1190	Sea Peoples (Philistines) conquered and settled southern Canaan, thereby choking off the supply-chain along the International Highway's coastal route
c. 1185	Ugarit was abandoned (destroyed?)
c. 1175	Battle of Djahi (land): Egypt and Sherden mercenaries massacred Tjeker in northern Canaan; Tjeker may have retreated to Cyprus. Dor and other sites along the Carmel and Acco Valleys were abandoned Battle of the Delta (naval): Egypt defeated the Tjeker, Philistines and other Sea Peoples

Date (B.C.)	*Event*
c. 1175-1130	Tjeker developed industrial sites in Cyprus (i.e. Maa-Palaeokastro, Pyla-Kokkinokremmos, and Hala Sultan Tekke)
c. 1130	Tjeker returned to Canaan; they expanded across northern Canaan, established their capital in Dor, defeated and destroyed Egyptian garrisons along the way; Tjeker cut-off inland Egyptian supply-routes through the Arabah and Jordan valleys
c. 1050	Tjeker rebuilt Dor, further urbanized other sites (e.g. Megiddo, Tel Dan, etc.), produced bronze-works with Feynan copper, and imported Iberian silver to Tell Keisan
c. 980	Tjeker were defeated by Israelites (King David) throughout northern Canaan

Figure 6.9: Summary of Tjeker History in the Levant

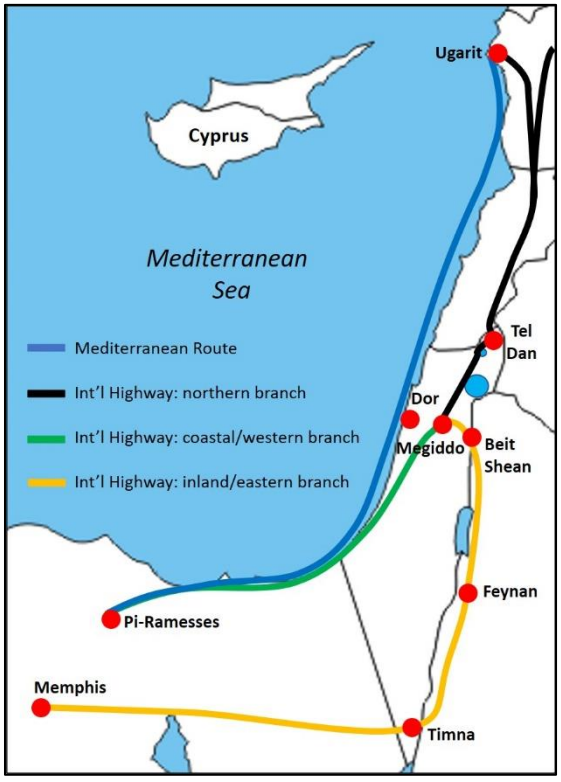


Figure 6.10: Summary of trade routes from Egypt to the north

PART II:
Tjeker in Cyprus and Canaan

Introduction

In the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, Cyprus was on the leading edge of metallurgy and its related technologies. Its inhabitants mastered the production of bronze using local copper and foreign tin. The distribution of 12th and 11th century B.C. iron weapons and tools was most heavily concentrated in Cyprus before developing further in Crete and Canaan (Sherratt 1994: 60: fig. 1, 72: fig. 2; Lehmann 2007: 536) (Figure II.1).

According to Wood *et al.* (2020: 8), "the prospectors, miners, smelters, and refiners of Iberian silver in the Early Iron Age (ca. eleventh century BCE) potentially derived their expertise from mining and extracting the silver from the jarosite ores of Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age."

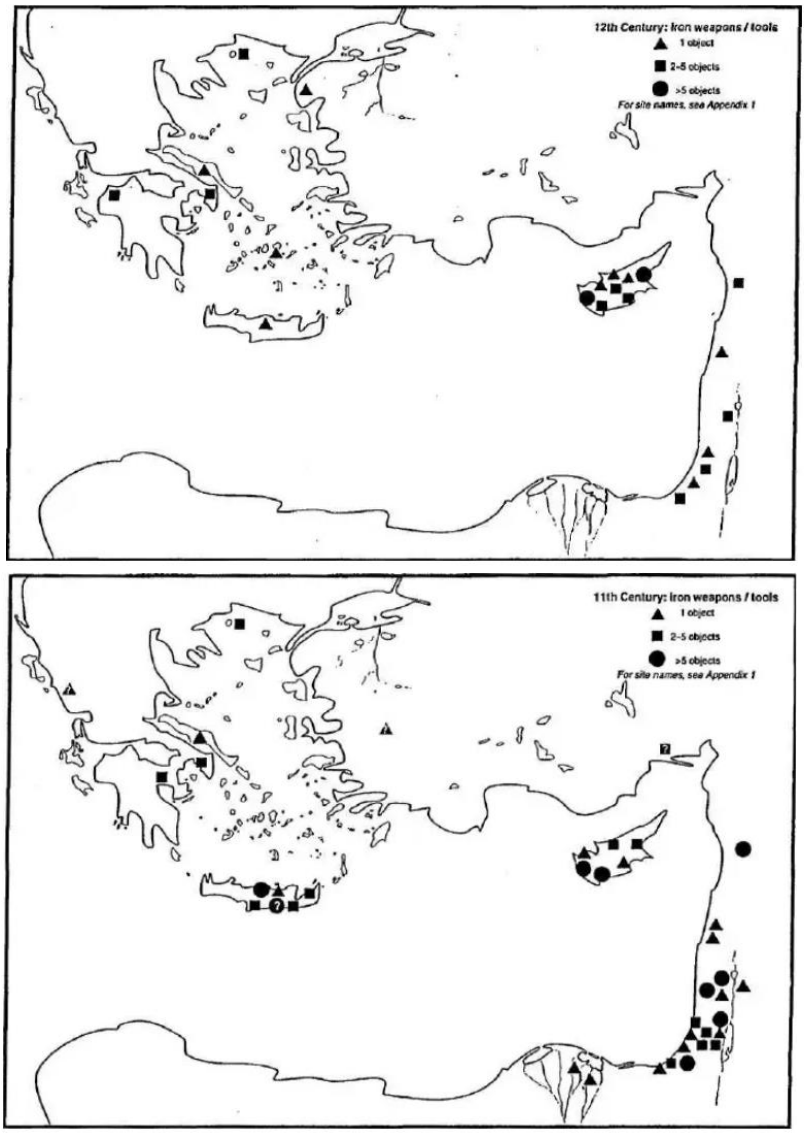


Figure II.1: Distribution of 12th and 11th century B.C. iron weapons and tools in the eastern Mediterranean (after Sherratt 1994)

Chapter 7 (Cyprus and Ugarit) further explores the general theme of Peoples of the Sea and Cypro-Aegean roots. They impacted Cyprus' pottery by combining local themes with Aegean design concepts. According to Sherratt (1994a: 62), it is extremely likely that people of Aegean ancestry (including metal-workers) were present in Cyprus in the 13th–12th centuries B.C. As for the distribution of iron knives in Cyprus, the Aegean, and the Levant, Sherratt (1994a: 69) added:

> "These … form a particularly suggestive distribution pattern, appearing above all at sites or locations where imported Cypriot (and Mycenaean) pottery is found in the 13th century... and where a 12th century Cypriot version of pottery of Aegean type is either locally made or imported from elsewhere in the Levant or from Cyprus itself."

Early excavations in southern Canaan unearthed large quantities of 12th and 11th centuries B.C. Aegean-styled pottery. Perhaps influenced by narratives of the biblical Philistines, archaeologists popularly adopted the term "Philistine" to describe these Aegean-styled ceramics in Philistia (Figure II.2).

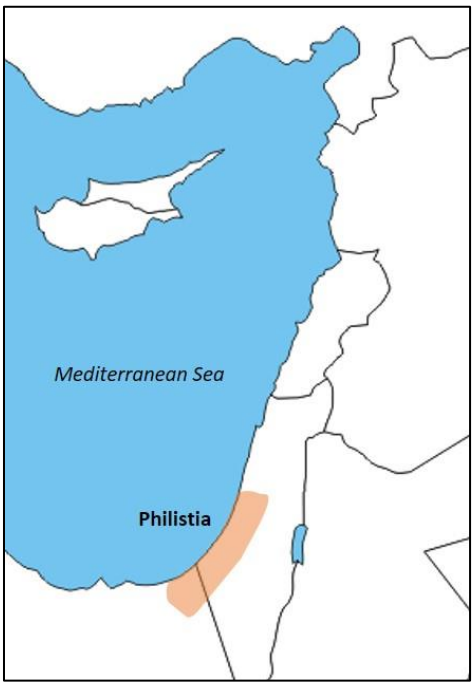


Figure II.2: Cypro-Aegean-type ("Philistine") pottery in Philistia

Later excavations in northern Canaan would reveal Aegean-styled ceramics that were similar but different from the ones in Philistia. The provenance of this northern Canaan pottery (e.g. bichrome globular jugs and flasks, zig-zag lines, concentric circles) has been a subject of confusion and controversy. Scholars first described these northern wares with various expressions like "sub-Philistine ware" (Maisler [Mazar] 1951a: 23), "debased Philistine pottery" (Dothan, T. 1982a: 69), "Philistine" pottery (Stern 2000: 204), and "PhB-like ceramics" (Gilboa

et al. 2006: 305). Burdajewicz believed the Tell Keisan bell-shaped bowls with painted spiral decorations were Philistine-influenced, and the numerous sherds of various vessels bearing two-colored decorations were either definitely or possibly Philistine (Burdajewicz 1992, 1994). By his own admission, he classified practically any piece with two-colored decoration as "Philistine" and concluded that it was quite a fuzzy and subjective matter (Burdajewicz 1994: 98, table III.1). Stern (2013) popularized the terms "northern Philistines" and "Northern Sea Peoples" to clarify the distinction between the two groups of people of Aegean backgrounds with similar but different pottery in northern Canaan and Philistia.

These northern Canaan Aegeans were the Sikil, or Tjeker. According to the Zorea Model (see Chapter 6: Tjeker), the Tjeker were one of the groups of Cypro-Aegean Sea Peoples who c. late 13th - early 12th centuries B.C. arrived to northern Canaan and who were defeated by the Egyptians in the Battle of Djahi c. 1175 B.C. They built industrial sites and invigorated urban centers in Cyprus, and some of them returned to northern Canaan c. 1130 B.C. where they remained for the next 150 years. The Egyptians called them Tjeker. Therefore, the Aegeanized wares in northern Canaan can likewise be characterized as "Tjeker" ware (Figure II.3).

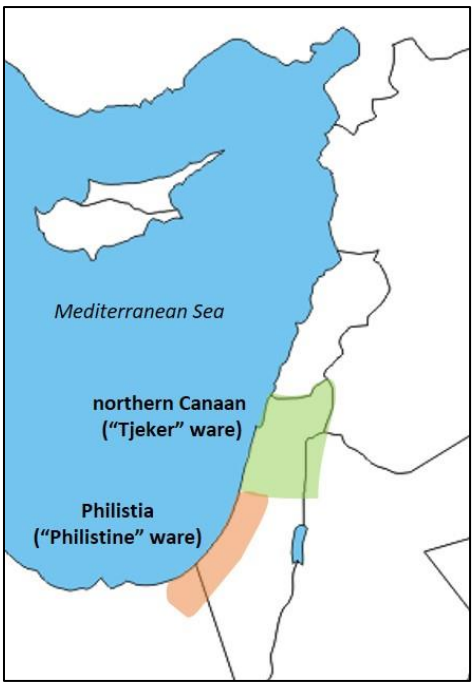


Figure II.3: Cypro-Aegean-type ("Philistine" and "Tjeker") pottery in Canaan

Part II of this work illustrates how archaeological findings in Cyprus and Ugarit (Chapter 7) and different regions of northern Canaan (Chapter 8-12) (Figure II.4) reflected the presence of Peoples of the Sea and Cypro-Aegean origins, both in terms of pottery and other material culture (Chapter 13).

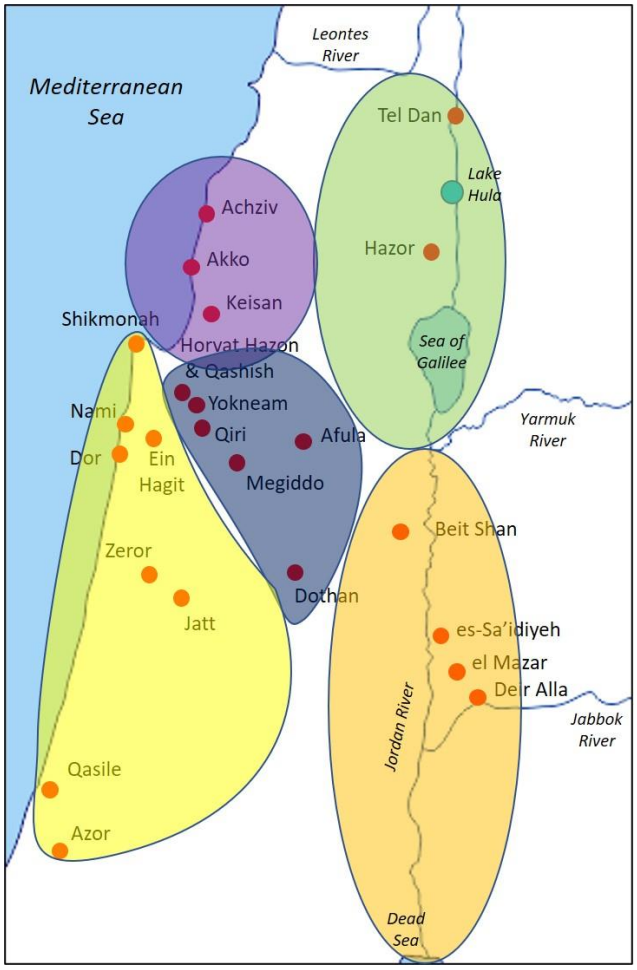


Figure II.4: Map of northern Canaan regions

Chapter 7: Cyprus and Ugarit

Egyptian texts have named different groups of Sea Peoples between the late 13th – early 12th centuries B.C., and various scholars have traced the likely origins of several of these to the Aegean (e.g. Philistines, Denyen, Tjeker; see Part I). According to A. Mazar (1985b: 105; 1988: 256) and Raban and Stieglitz (1991), the Aegean Sea Peoples were in Cyprus long before their confrontation with Ramesses III c. 1175 B.C. Karageorghis added (2000b: 11):

> "Innovations in the material culture of Cyprus and the Levant during the early part of the 12th century B.C. as well as the import of religious and other status symbols (Bathtubs, central hearths) to both these regions from the Aegean, constitute strong evidence for an Achaean presence (cf. Karageorghis 2000)."

While some of the Sea Peoples were from the Aegean, not all were. It may be more correct, rather, to say that the Sea Peoples were part of the broader family of Mediterranean communities in the Aegean, Cyprus, Near East, and Canaan, that shared maritime trade (Artzy 1998: 439-40) and other elements of material culture (Figure 7.1) which are described below (see also Chapter 13: Material Culture). These communities could be described individually and collectively as peoples of the sea.

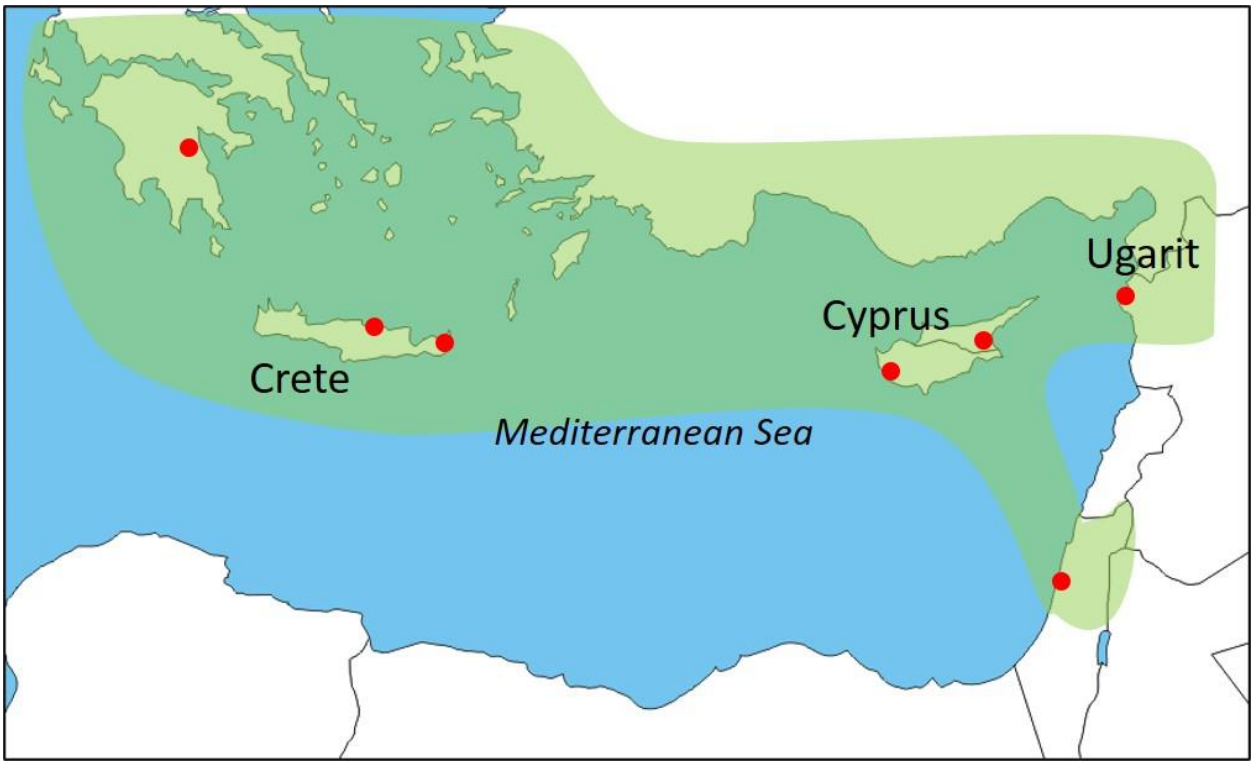


Figure 7.1: Inter-regional presence and influence of peoples of the sea in the 14th–13th centuries B.C.

Their shared elements of material culture are sometimes labeled as Aegean, Cypriot, Cypro-Aegean, or some similar variant. The sections that follow in this chapter discuss some of the related archaeological finds in Cyprus and Ugarit, the preeminent port-city of the Near East.

1. Elements of similar material culture of peoples of the sea

1.1 Ashlar stones

In the 13th–12th centuries B.C. a new architectural element appeared in the Canaanite metropolis of Ugarit / Ras Shamra and its southern port of Ras Ibn Hani; in Cypriot locations like Enkomi, Kition and Maa-Palaeokastro; as well as in Dor and other locations in Canaan (Raban 1988: 272).

Schaeffer (1983) identified the new type of stone building block (a squared, smoothly trimmed stone called an "ashlar"), and attributed it to a new ethnic element he called the "Ashlar builders" (Raban and Stieglitz 1991: 37). Whereas previous ashlar construction in other regions was limited to more religious buildings, these ashlar stones were part of both religious and secular buildings; the subsequent appearance of such construction in Canaan has been credited to the Sea Peoples (Raban and Stieglitz 1991: 37).

1.2 Composite anchors

The earliest anchors were stone blocks. Composite anchors dated to the 13th–12th centuries B.C. were found in Ugarit and its harbor, Minet el Beida, as well as in Kition, Cyprus (Tóth 2002). This new type of anchor was a stone pierced with additional (usually two) holes for wooden flukes to help "catch" the ground. These anchors provided better mooring for a vessel in muddy or sandy sea-bottoms than a simple stone weight (Raban and Stieglitz 1991: 40).

1.3 Tombs

Tombs with ashlar stones were first built in Syria (Ebla) (Middle Bronze Age) (Hadjisavvas 2007: 189), Ugarit and Mycenae (Late Bronze Age) (Philokyprou 2011: 47, cf Hult 1983: 88-90). Similar ones were subsequently built in late-13th century B.C. Cyprus (Enkomi), and "are probably associated with new settlers ("Achaeans", "Sea people"), who came to the island during this period and brought with them their local traditions" (Philokyprou 2011: 47).

1.4 Cypro-Minoan script

Cypro-Minoan script subtypes are well attested from various Late Bronze Age sites in Cyprus, Ugarit and Tiryns in the Argolid (Cline 2014: 105). The Cypro-Minoan tablets in Enkomi document the city's commercial-related activity (Bretschneider *et al.* 2015: 3). Several

of the composite anchors have Cypro-Minoan signs incised in them, suggesting a Cypriot origin and not a Cretan one (Raban and Stieglitz 1991: 39) as well as close ties with Cypriot culture.

Cypro-Minoan-like signs also appear on many of the Late Bronze Age metal ingots, both copper and tin, including the ones found in a shipwreck near Hishulei Carmel, Israel (see Chapter 13: Material Culture). The Sea Peoples were literate and some used an Aegean-type syllabic linear script closely related to the Cypro Minoan systems (Raban and Stieglitz 1991: 40, cf Stager 1991).

2. Ugarit

Ugarit was one of the richest cities of the Near East. Although a tributary to Egypt during the mid-14th century B.C., by the late 14th century B.C. Ugarit signed a treaty with Hittite King Shuppililiuma I (Lackenbacher 2000: 194). Its small bay of Minet el-Beida (or "White Bay") was located about a mile north of Ugarit's port city of Ras Ibn Hani and 6 miles north of Latakia, Syria on the Mediterranean Sea (Curtis 1999: 6).

Excavations of Minet el-Beida and Ras Shamra began in 1929 and continued in 1930 at the suggestion of M. René Dussaud, member of the Institute and Conservator at the Louvre. The natural harbor of Minet el-Beida faced Cyprus, which is what gave Dussaud the idea of a Mycenaean colony importing copper from Cyprus and disembarking it in Minet el-Beida for transport to the interior and to Mesopotamia (Schaeffer 1931: 1).

Schaeffer continued excavating Ras Shamra until 1970 (Schaeffer 1939b; 1949; 1956; 1962; 1968; 1969; 1978). Excavations have since been taken over by H. de Contenson, J. Margueron, M. Yon (2006), Y. Calvet and B. Jamous, and V. Matoïan and K. Al-Bahloul (Buck 2018: 5).

2.1 Pre-Destruction

Besides local items, some of the findings from and around Ras Shamra have Aegean, Cypriot and Egyptian origins. Excavations nearby the acropolis revealed the foundations of a large edifice which seem to have suffered destruction by fire. A bronze nail and a bronze dagger pointed out to a second millennium date as confirmed by the discovery of parts of an Egyptian statue made of granite and bearing a hieroglyphic inscription whose style of writing was dated to the New Kingdom period (Curtis 1999: 19-20).

Other findings demonstrate skilled metal and decorative ivory works. For example, a 13 cm long ivory box lid (AO 11.601, Caquot–Sznycer 1980: Plates IV and V) was carved with a Mycenaean-styled seated female figure with an ornate hair-style, naked above the waist but wearing a full skirt, holding what appeared to be ears of corn in either hand and flanked by animals standing on their hind legs. Two fine examples of unearthed golden metal-work included a bowl and a rimmed plate or patera (Schaeffer 1939a: fig. 13: 594, pl. XVII, XVIIII; 1949: I-48). The bowl (17 cm in diameter) was embossed with various decorative features, notably three

concentric circles of animal like figures, some of which appear to be winged and probably refer to mythological creatures. The rimmed plate (19 cm in diameter) depicts a hunting scene, showing a figure in a chariot armed with a bow and arrows in pursuit of various animals and followed by a dog.

South of Minet el-Beida, where mariners may have lived, a large number of Cypriot or Mycenaean-made pottery vessels of various types and likely commercial use were found. North of Minet el-Beida, a misfired Cypriot vase was discovered, reconfirming that Cypriots lived near Ugarit (Curtis 1999: 21).

Ugarit also included a parallel (Gatchet 1992: fig. 4d) to Tel Dan's bone disk with an engraved decoration of a rosette with pointed petals, framed with circles and zigzag pattern (Biran and Ben-Dov 2002: 149, Cat. No. 218); a similar design can be found in Tell es-Sa'idiyeh's Berzocana-type bowl (T32).

2.2 Destruction

Analysis of ceramic pieces unearthed around Minet el-Beida suggested that the site was abandoned by c. early-12th century B.C., which is in line with Ugarit's destruction date c. 1185 B.C.

Four letters in Ugarit seem to mention the Sea Peoples, and the last three from the Rap'anu archive seem to foreshadow the destruction of the city in the early 12th century B.C. (Cline 2014: 151).

One set of correspondences is either between the "Great King" of the Hittites (presumably Suppiluliuma II) and the young and last king of Ugarit (Ammurapi or Hammurabi, c. 1191-82 B.C.) regarding wanting to question a man named "Ibnadushu" (D'Amato and Salimbeti 2015); or between the King of Kargamish and the Grand Viser of Ugarit regarding a man named "Lunadushu" and the sea raiding "Shikala who live on ships" (Robbins 2001: 87) . While some have interpreted the "Shikala" as the Shekelesh (Redford 2007: 11; D'Amato and Salimbeti 2015), many other scholars have attributed them to the Sikil (or Tjeker) (Albright 1934: 65; Rainey 1982: 134; Stager 1991; Robins 2001: 187).

The other correspondences are between Ammurapi and the king of Alashiya regarding an enemy fleet of ships. Ammurapi pleads for assistance, highlighting Ugarit's desperate situation (RS 20.238; Nougaryol *et al.* 1968: 87-90, no. 24):

> "My father, behold, the enemy's ships came (here); my cities (?) were burned, and they did evil things in my country. Does not my father know that all my troops and chariots (?) are in the Land of Hatti, and all my ships are in the Land of Lukka? ... Thus, the country is abandoned to itself. May my father know it: the seven ships of the enemy that came here inflicted much damage upon us."

Eshuwara responded (RS 20.18; Cline 2014: 151):

> "As for the matter concerning those enemies: (it was) the people from your country (and) your own ships (who) did this! And (it was) the people from your country (who) committed these transgression(s)...I am writing to inform you and protect you. Be aware!"

Correspondence to the King of Carchemish suggests he may have finally sent military support to Ugarit, although it was too late (RS 19.011; Cline 2014: 151):

> "When your messenger arrived, the army was humiliated and the city was sacked. Our food in the threshing floors was burnt and the vineyards were also destroyed. Our city is sacked. May you know it! May you know it!"

2.3 Post-Destruction

Nearly a half-century after Ugarit was destroyed, the Syrian Iron Age started in the late-12th to early-11th centuries B.C. (Mazzoni 2000: 121) and included evidence of Aegean presence once again. This seems to be around the same time the Tjeker invaded northern Canaan c. 1130 B.C. Lehmann (2013: 268-269 and ample supporting bibliography) summarized the Aegeanizing findings above Ras Ibn Hani. A similar effect was observed farther north along the Orontes River in Tel Tayinat (less than 1 km from ancient Alalakh). Tel Tayinat would serve as the capital of an Iron Age northern Kingdom of Palistin, reminiscent of the Philistines, and perhaps what the Assyrians referred to as Palastu (Harrison 2009: 175; Weeden 2013: 11; Emanuel 2015: 12). Perhaps, then, another group of Sea Peoples from Cyprus were responsible for helping to Aegeanize this region in the Syrian Iron Age. That discussion, however, is outside the scope of this work.

3. Cyprus

Between the 14th–12th centuries B.C., Cyprus played a critically important role in supplying copper to the Mediterranean bronze industry. The late 13th century B.C. fall of the Mycenaean city-palaces was followed by a migration from the Argolid Peninsula to Cyprus. The early 12th century B.C. destruction of Ugarit dramatically changed the metal-trading business. It is highly probable Sea Peoples in Cyprus made their way to the coasts of Canaan, and finally Egypt.

After the Sea Peoples/Tjeker were defeated by the Egyptians in northern Canaan (the Battle of Djahi, c. 1175 B.C.), two sites emerged as industrial settlements in Cyprus: Maa Palaiokastro and Pyla Kokkinokremos. Two generations later (c. second half of the 12th century B.C.), both locations were abandoned, and people from Cyprus settled in Dor (see Chapter 6: Tjeker). These new arrivals were probably Cypriots by birth, and their material culture further suggests some kind of Aegean descent as well.

Furthermore, given the historic value of Egyptian texts (i.e. Onomasticon of Amenope and the Tale of Wenamun), they were most likely Tjeker, one of the Sea Peoples groups. By the end of the 10th century B.C., after the defeat of the Sea Peoples in Canaan at the hands of the

Israelites, some Tjeker retreated to Cyprus (see Chapter 6). This time they settled mostly in ports and sites located to the west of the island.

3.1 Historical names

Cyprus is the third largest island in the Mediterranean, located in the cross-routes that linked the Near East with the Aegean and the central Mediterranean (Karageorghis 2002). The word "copper" is derived from the island's Greek name *Kupros*.

Although debated at length, most modern scholars accept that ancient Cyprus was known as Alashiya in the Middle Bronze Age when copper was supplied to the distant Mari on the Euphrates (Artzy 2006: 11). Recent petrographic studies have shown that at least some, if not all, of the Alashiya-letters found at Amarna and Ras Shamra (Ugarit) originated on this island (Goren *et al.* 2004: 48-53). According to Stager (1995: 337; 1998: 157), Cyprus was invaded by the Sea Peoples and the island's name changed from Alashiya to Yadanana. However, since this is based on a late 8th century B.C. Assyrian tablet inscribed in Akkadian (*ibid.*, cf Luckenbill 1914), such a name change seems to have occurred centuries after the early 12th century B.C. Sea Peoples were present in Cyprus.

3.2 Copper, tin and bronze

Egyptian depictions and the recent finding of a ship-wreck in Turkey (Öniz 2019: 1, 3-14) trace copper finds from Cyprus to the 16th–15th centuries B.C. In the 14th century B.C., Cyprus produced pottery and metal works. At the turn of the 13th/12th centuries B.C., some Sea Peoples might have sought to secure copper and tin for bronze weaponry and may have settled in Cyprus and later continued eastward (Mazar, A. 1991: 102-103).

Copper was mined from around the Troodos Mountains. Metallurgic activity has been revealed in sites such as Enkomi, Kition, Maroni and others. Bronze manufacturers consumed large amounts of wood to process and refine copper. Sometime during the 14th–12th centuries B.C., local wood shortages forced them to source wood from farther away regions of the island. Subsequently, it became more practical to simply export copper ingots from the island's nearby ports, such as Tsaroukas at the foot of the Maroni Valley (Sherratt 1998: 297).

Standard weight and quality oxhide ingots were manufactured, identical to those found in the Uluburun shipwreck (Figure 7.2). The oxhide ingots, which appeared in a number of places in the eastern Mediterranean and even as far west as Sardinia, Corsica and southern France, are usually considered to be of Cypriot origin (Stos-Gale *et al.* 1997: 83-123).

Figure 7.2: Copper ingot from Zakros, Crete (after Heraklion Archaeological Museum)

Although there were no copper mines nearby Ras-Shamra (Ugarit), this city-port was definitely part of the economy and copper-trading network during the Late Bronze Age. Considering the geographical nature of the Troodos Mountains where the copper originated and considering the active trade networks of the period, bun-ingots (another shape of copper ingots) were shipped from Cyprus to the mainland, to be refined and converted into oxhide ingots which weighed about a talent each (30 kilograms), as evidenced by the casting mold found in Ras Ibn Hani, the port of Ugarit (Lagarce and Lagarce 1997: 74 ff. fig. 2; Craddock *et al.* 1997: 4).

And while copper was also available in the western Mediterranean in places like Sardinia or Iberia, the history of tin is a little different (Muhly 1974). Sardinian tin deposits could not have been exploited in antiquity (Valera *et al.* 2005:363; Kassianidou 2006: 11). The Levant predominantly sourced its tin from the East until the collapse of the trading system impacted its availability on the coastal regions and Cyprus (Kassianidou 2012).

Furthermore, although recycling was not a new practice in the latter part of the Late Bronze Age, it became much more prevalent in those days. As a result of various socio-economic changes, the elites were not the only clients searching for metals. Individuals and small groups could also exchange small quantities of scrap metals for other goods. In other words, scrap metal, including bronze, was reaching the hands of the lower social classes (Sherratt 1998: 300).

3.3 Shipwrecks

Three separate shipwrecks have been found nearby each other, off the southwestern coast of Turkey and northwest of Cyprus (Figure 7.3): the Kumluca (dated c. 16th/15th century B.C. and discovered in 2018 by H. Öniz), the Uluburun (dated to the 14th century B.C.; discovered in 1982 and excavated by G. Bass and C. Pulak) (Bass 1967; 1986; Pulak 2000; 2001) and the Cape Gelidonya (dated to the 13th–12th centuries B.C. and discovered in 1958) (Bass 1961). These are considered to be the oldest wrecks ever excavated from the bottom of the sea (Bass 1967: 78-82; Pulak 1988: 1-37; Öniz 2019).

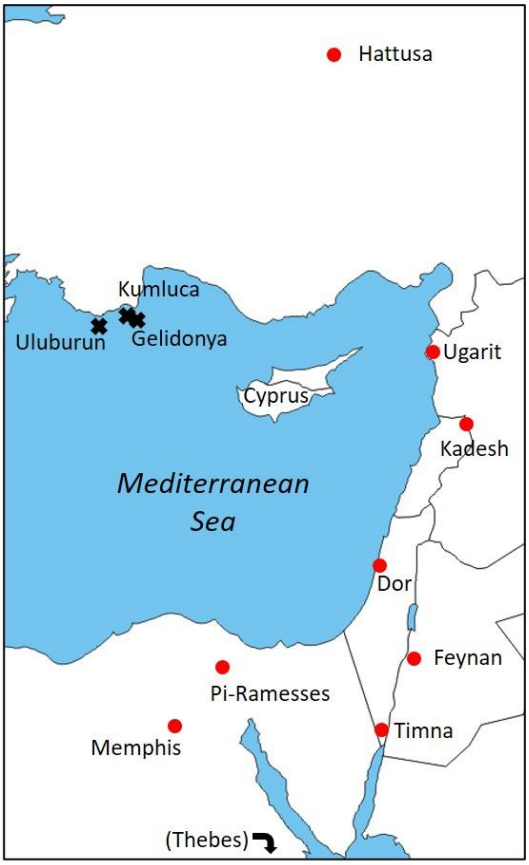


Figure 7.3: Bronze Age shipwrecks off the coast of Anatolia (Kumluca, Uluburun, Gelidonya)

3.3.1 16th–15th centuries B.C.: Kumluca

The recent discovery of a shipwreck, off the coast of western Antalya (Kumluca) in the Turkish Mediterranean (Öniz 2019: 3-14) revealed 77 ingots, 73 which are "pillow-shaped" and 4 which are "bun" shaped. The prevalence of the pillow-shape in Egyptian representations (Bass 1986: 276) point to the possibility that the wreck should be dated to the 16th–15th centuries B.C. (Öniz 2019: 3-14). This reinforces the major role Cyprus played in the production and trade of copper ingots since at least the mid-2nd millennium B.C.

3.3.2 14th century B.C.: Uluburun

The "Uluburun" shipwreck, discovered in 1982 by G. Bass and C. Pulak, dates to around 1330–1306 B.C. It measured 15-16 meters in length and possessed luxury products beyond the ship's main cargo (Pulak 2005: 85-86; Bass 2006: 24-25). It carried at least 354 copper oxhide ingots (Kassianidou 2012: 229-259) and about 120 bun-shaped copper ingots (Pulak 2008: 307) all probably of Cypriot origin, demonstrating that Cyprus was a major producer of copper for international trade (Hemingway and Hemingway 2004). It also carried 40 tin bars weighing

about a ton (Pulak 2001) and whose origin is still uncertain (Heltzer 1989); and approximately 175 glass ingots, probably from the Canaanite coast.

The pottery included 149 Canaanite jars, including 10 large storage pithoi, three of which contained Cypriot lamps, juglets and nested bowls. Seven other pithoi contained pomegranates and possibly olive oil. Some of them have evidence of terebinth resin, identical to resin from Amarna in Egypt (Pulak 1997: 240-1); perhaps it was used as a preservative to transport wine in such containers (Pulak 1998:201). The ship included one-hundred thirty-five Cypriot-ware items, twice the number of Cypriot pottery vessels presently known from all phases of the Late Bronze Age over the entire Aegean region (Pulak 1998: 204).

The Uluburun ship's cargo (Bachhuber 2006) may have been destined for the Mycenaean continental world or for Knossos since Crete lacked both copper and tin. While copper was present in small quantities in the Aegean, it was abundant in Cyprus (Gale and Stos-Gale 2007). In fact, twenty six percent of the copper artifacts found on Crete were made from Cypriot copper (Demand 2011: 142). Traders from Cyprus and Ugarit helped link Levantine commerce with the western Mediterranean (Linder 1981: 37; Pigott 2011: 287). Although Sardinians had copper and tin in small amounts, eastern traders supplied them with copper from Cyprus (Stos-Gale and Gale 1992: 322-3, 335; Begemann *et al.* 2001; Lo Schiavo 2003).

3.3.3 13th century B.C.: Cape Gelidonya

The "Cape Gelidonya" sunk by the end of the 13th century B.C. It is considered to be the first ship to be dug and recovered in its entirety. The excavation started in 1960 under the direction of Peter Throckmorton, George Bass and Frederic Dumas and was sponsored by the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

The wreck's cargo comprised of a large number of copper and tin ingots, as well as a huge quantity of scrap bronze tools and weapons. One of its ingots was analyzed and found to contain a fair amount of tin, an indicator of recycled bronze. Since the wreckage included special tools for bronze-handling, oxhide ingots and finished goods, it was assumed to have belonged to a metalsmith. It was identified as a foundry-ship (Bass 1967: 117-121), another example of an entrepreneurial metal-recycling effort in those days. Other evidence also suggests that Mycenaean merchants along with crewmen from Cyprus, Canaan, and Egypt were on board (Bass 1991: 69-82).

During the Late Bronze Age, the status of the merchant was palace-dependent (Zaccagnini 1987: 29; Artzy 2006: 21), but by the 13th century B.C., this relationship underwent some fundamental changes (Liverani 1987: 69). Since Ugarit did not have copper mines of its own, it imported and traded ingots from Cyprus. Furthermore, scrap metal added little tonnage to shipping cargo, occupied relatively little space, and could be bartered at coastal sites such as Nami (Canaan) or Kition (Cyprus) (Sherratt 1998: 297; Karageorghis and Kassianidou 1999). Therefore, sailor entrepreneurs could both acquire raw material as well as produce ingots and finished goods (Sherratt 1998: 293, 305).

3.4 Settlement changes

Between the late 13th to 12th centuries B.C., Cyprus experienced a variety of settlement changes, including destruction, fire, abandonment, resettlement, new construction, and growth. Many of these sites (Figure 7.4) are discussed below.

Most of the bronze hoards found in Cyprus were found on the eastern part of the isle and dated to c. 1200 B.C. (Catling 1964: 278-298; Mätthaus and Schumacher-Mätthaus 1986). One of the most interesting hoards was found in 2004 in Kaleburnu/Galinoporni the Karpaz Peninsula of northeastern Cyprus (Bartelheim *et al.* 2008: 161). This Late Bronze Age hoard of 26 bronze objects included 16 vessels, 3 offering stands and 7 tools. The closest parallels to the stands and some of the other vessels were found in several of the most prominent sites in Cyprus and the Levant (i.e. Ugarit, Megiddo, Beit Shean, and Jatt) and which have been identified as having an Aegean presence. Workshops in northern Kition (Karageorghis and Demas 1985; Karageorghis and Kassianidou 1999), Athienou (Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983) and Enkomi (Dikaios 1969; Catling 1975: 213) have revealed large amounts of slag, scrap metal and religious bronze-objects.

Figure 7.4: Sites in Cyprus (sites in black indicate abandonment)

3.4.1 Abandoned sites

Previously sought-after regions in Cyprus showed signs of abandonment, including the Vasilikos and Maroni valleys (south) (Todd and South 1992: 203), Sinda (inland northeast) and Alykos (southeast) (Karageorghis 1982: 713, 723; Webb and Frankel 1994) and Hala Sultan Tekke (Åström 1976-2007).

This last site is situated in Alykos near Kition/Larnaca. It has been excavated by Swedish archaeologists since the 1970s (Fischer 2011: 69). After initial investigations in 1971, P. Åström carried out the first large-scale archaeological excavations in 1976. The findings of partial fire destruction and arrowheads are suggestive of war and the site's first abandonment (Åstrom 1998: 83).

Like Toumba tou Skourou in the north-center, southern sites like Maroni-Vournes, Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios and Alassa showed no evidence of destruction before they were abandoned (Georgiou 2011: 109, 116), although some of these did show signs of fire (Iacovou 2013: 662). Georgiou (2011: 117) noted that the purposeful abandonments suggest a consequence of the Mediterranean-wide "Crisis" in Cyprus.

Maroni was first excavated by the British Museum in the late 19th century. Its port dealt with copper coming through Kalavasos (Robbins 2001: 209).

Kalavasos was excavated by P. Dikaios in the 1940s (Clark 2009: 39-57). Most of the town appears to have been peacefully deserted (South 1989: 322) and there is evidence that its ashlar complex suffered a fire that may have been contemporary with the settlement's abandonment (Iacovou 2013: 662).

Alassa was excavated by Cypriot archaeologists in the early 1980s (Hadjisavvas 1986: 62-76). While signs of burning are visible on the Alassa Paliotaverna central building monoliths, Alassa Mandilaris has "no evidence of violent destruction or fire" (Hadjisavvas 1989: 41).

The impact on the island, then, was not uniform. According to Karageorghis (2000b: 12), part of the abandonment and destruction of towns and villages in early 12th century B.C. Cyprus can be linked in part to the collapse of the Mediterranean palatial system and to Mycenaean "colonization".

3.4.2 Industrial settlements

When Tjeker survivors of the Battle of Djahi c. 1175 B.C. escaped to Cyprus (see Chapter 6), they industrialized some sites as resettled sites (i.e. Hala Sultan Tekke), or as newly established ones (Bunimovitz 1988: 103) (i.e. Pyla Kokkinokremos and Maa-Palaeokastro).

Hala Sultan Tekke survived its fire and destruction evidence (Hitchcock and Maeir 2017). It was intensely populated during the 12th century B.C. (Åström 1976-2007) and had a continuous relationship with other industrial sites in Cyprus as well as northern Canaan. Its Base-Ring II is comparable to evidence found in other sites in Cyprus such as Maa-Palaeokastro (Jung 2011: 66). Fabric analysis of a lentoid flask matched nearly identically to fabrics from Tell Jatt

and Tel Zeror (Fischer and Burge 2017: 190) and petrographic analysis further reinforces that the flask was probably imported (Fischer and Burge 2017: N60 fig. 27) from south of the Carmel coast.

The industrial sites of Maa-Palaeokastro (in the west near Kouklia Palaepaphos) and Pyla-Kokkinokremos (in the southeast near Kition) were excavated by Dikaios in the 1950's and Karageorghis in the 1980's. Both sites identified similar signs of industrial production and trade activity (Dikaios 1969–71: 911; Karageorghis and Demas 1984: 263; Karageorghis 1984: 20–22; 2001: 1–4; 2002: 73–81; Knapp 2008: 237–239). Karageorghis and Kanta renewed excavations in Pyla-Kokkinokremos in 2010-2013 (Karageorghis and Kanta 2014), and Bretschneider, Driessen and Kanta have continued excavating there since 2014 (Bretschneider *et al.* 2019: 1).

Although Pyla Kokkinokremos (Karageorghis and Demas 1984; Karageorghis and Kanta 2014) may not have been optimally located, it enjoyed several benefits such as high altitude, great views of the sea, and a good amount of arable land. It had no ramparts, but its outer fortification walls were enhanced and very stable. It included ashlar construction (Kanta 2014). The inner plan was well organized and highly uniform. It also included numerous storage rooms, some with plaster floors that may have been used to purify pottery clay. Like in Enkomi, it included Cypro-Minoan tablets as well as short inscriptions related to commercial activities (Bretschneider *et al.* 2015: 3). The metal finds included gold jewelry and ornaments, a silver ingot (the only silver ingot found in Cyprus), hoards of scrap-metals, foundry artifacts for recycling and ingot fragments. (Georgiou 2015).

Maa-Palaeokastro included vessels with "pie crust" ornaments and ceramic pot bellows (Georgiou 2012: 65-83). It also included pottery with wavy designs (similar to later findings from Dor, Stern 2013: 40), rolling cylinders used to produce friezes (such as beautiful scenes of chariots hunting galloping animals), vessels with Cypro-Minoan marks on their handles (likely indicating their storage capacity), Aegean-style deep bowls (Karageorghis and Demas 1984: inv. no. 1952/22) (Figure 7.5), shallow bowls and kylikes, as well as a large collection of Canaanite jars. "Canaanite jars" (Hadjicosti 1988: inv. no. 251) (Figure 7.6) were used to transport liquids from Canaan, although some comparable jars were locally made. These included short and long neck *pithoi*, as can be seen in the Kalavasos Hall. Some jars were white painted with a bi-chrome effect. Many of the Canaanite jars were imports while others were manufactured locally.

Figure 7.5: Deep bowl with spiral decoration from Pyla-Kokkinokremos (after Karageorghis and Demas 1984; photo: A. Georgiou; courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus)

Figure 7.6: Canaanite Jar from Maa-Palaeokastro (after Hadjicosti 1988; photo A. Georgiou; courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus)

The newcomers that built these facilities from scratch were of Aegean origin (Karageorghis 2000b: 11-12; Georgiou 2015). The ashlar construction in Pyla Kokkinokremos represents an Aegean presence (Kanta 2014). These industrial settlements produced a variety of metal works as well as Aegean-based ceramics (Georgiou 2015).

Metallurgical studies of findings in several of these industrial sites have led some scholars to suggest that "individuals with knowledge of how to prospect, mine, and smelt jarositic ores and with the know-how to cupellate silver from argentiferous lead would be a necessary component of such technology transfer from Cyprus to Iberia. This implies knowledge transfer between the mines of Cyprus and Iberia, and close collaboration with those controlling the trade routes." (Wood *et al.* 2020: 18) (see also Part III).

Cypriot hand-made "base ring" and "white slip ware" ceramics began incorporating Aegean elements (Georgiou 2015). White painted Wheelmade III wares were found in both Maa and Pyla and included beautiful chariot themes and painted Cypro-Minoan inscriptions (Georgiou 2012: 74). These centers maintained a continuous relationship with other industrial sites in Cyprus as well as northern Canaan.

The largest number of Canaanite pieces, including LCIIIA jars (1200-1100 B.C.), were found in Maa-Palaeokastro, Hala Sultan Tekke, and Pyla Kokkinokremos (Åström 1991: 149-151; Fischer 1991; Hadjicosti 1998; Gilboa 2005: 54). In other words, they likely had the most communication and trade links with Canaan.

3.4.3 Urban settlements

While early 12th century B.C. Kalavasos and Maroni collapsed, neighboring Kition and Palaepaphos continued to export copper. With their success and wealth, Kition rebuilt the sacred structures of Kathari and erected the ashlar-stone built Temple I, and simultaneously Palaepaphos built the megalithic Sanctuary I (Georgiou 2011: 117). New pottery shapes and designs that amalgamated classical Cypriot with incoming Mycenaean influences came about.

The old shapes were slowly replaced, wheelmade pottery began to appear on the island, and the local material culture transformed (Georgiou 2015).

Enkomi was an important trading and smelting center for copper, and had strong ties with Ugarit, perhaps its most important trading partner. According to the excavations by Dikaios (1969-71: 514-520), early 12th century B.C. Enkomi experienced destruction and rebuilding by Mycenaean populations. The city retained its status as an active urban copper trading center as evidenced by the continuous processing and exportation of copper (Curtois *et al*. 1986: 20). When Ugarit collapsed c. 1185 B.C., sites such as Enkomi captured greater market share and increased their bronze production (Catling 1964: 278). However, during this period, the town's control over the Mesoria Plain and the southeastern Troodos foothills was seriously challenged as evidenced by the abandonment of mining villages and secondary inland sites (Georgiou 2011: 116).

Enkomi's sophistication is reflected in the artistry of the Enkomi Game Box which depicts a hunting scene, chariot and a bearded footman with feathered headdress (Figures 7.7 and 7.8). The foot soldier's head-dress is very similar to the Egyptian depictions of Medinet Habu of Aegean Sea Peoples (see Part I, Chapter 2: Philistines and Chapter 6: Tjeker; Part III, Chapter 15: Mycenaeans). The hunting-type scene is a 12th century B.C. continuation of a 16th century B.C. Mycenaean tradition in the Argolid (see Part III: Chapter 15). In addition, the ax held by the foot soldier is a close parallel to an actual ax found in Muros (Iberia) and thereby supports connectivity between western and eastern Mediterranean (see Part III: Chapter 14).

Figure 7.7: Relief on the side of a Game Box found in a tomb in Enkomi, Cyprus
(Hunting motif, Ivory, 1250-1100 B.C. British Museum)

Figure 7.8: Detail of foot soldier with feathered headdress and ax
(engraved on the right-hand side of the Enkomi Game Box)

3.5 Cypriot Finds

It took 11th century B.C. Aegean migrants little more than a generation to gain the upper hand, politically and culturally, over the local inhabitants of Cyprus (Voskos and Knapp 2008: 662). The most abundant evidence of hybridized material goods comes from burials that, especially after c. 1100 B.C., often provide the only source of information for this period (Voskos and Knapp 2008: 674). The apparent predominance of some Aegean customs (e.g. the use of Aegean-type figurines and Mycenaean-type chamber tombs) came to be seen as a sign of the Hellenization of the island (Karageorghis 1990: 29–30). By the late 11th century B.C., the island had become Hellenized as testified by the homogeneous material that blended elements of local, Levantine and Aegean ancestry (Voskos and Knapp 2008: 676).

During the second half of the 11th century B.C. and the early10th century B.C. new elites emerged in Cyprus who traded with other islands (like Sardinia) (Crielaard 1998). Cyprus became a "crossroad" in the Mediterranean (Karageorghis 2002). An excellent example of this long-distance trade is the Amathous Tomb 523 articulated spit (La Schiavo 1990: 128-30, Vonhoff 2011: 194). It measures about 80 cm long and has a rectangular cross-section. One end is pointed; the other one terminates into a ring which originally formed part of the handle (Vonhoff 2011). Similarly, another type of spit was found in a 12th century B.C. Tiryns treasure (Knapp 2013: 423) which suggests that such objects were previously in use in the Argolid.

4. Summary of Finds and Parallels

4.1 Findings of Aegean Presence

The following table summarizes objects and sites that identify an Aegean presence in Cyprus.

Location	***Berzocana-type bowls***	***Industrial sites***	***Seals/ Ivory box***	***Iberian objects***
Lapithos	✓			
Gastria Alaas	✓			
Kition	✓			
Hala Sultan Tekke	✓	✓		
Amathous	✓			✓
Kouklia (Palaepaphos)	✓			
Pyla-Kokkinokremos		✓		
Maa-Palaeokastro		✓		
Enkomi			✓	

Figure 7.9: Aegean findings in Cyprus

In other words, Cyprus shares certain Aegean roots. Furthermore, these roots extend back in time to the 14th and 13th centuries B.C. given the large quantities of Aegean (mainly Mycenaean) pottery found in tombs (Karageorghis 2000b). Scholars like Furumark, Stubbings, Karageorghis and E. Vermeule previously thought the "pictorial style" pottery may have been made in Cyprus by Aegean potters. However, more recent scientific analysis has traced the material of these ceramics directly to the Aegean (Karagheorghis 2000: 11) which suggests a direct Aegean influence, if not presence. Additional presence is attested in the 12th century B.C. when Aegeans built industrialized sites from scratch on Cyprus, and in the 11th century B.C. when Mycenaeans introduced the Greek language to the island.

4.2 Parallels between Cyprus, Ugarit and Canaan

The following table exemplifies interconnectivity between Cyprus, Ugarit and Canaan in the 12th–11th centuries B.C. Discussions of other sites from Canaan and their finds continue in subsequent chapters.

	Ashlar Quays	***Ashlar Wells***	***Tombs***	***Ashlar Buildings***	***Composite Anchors***	***Cypro-Minoan signs***	***Hunting Scene***	***Rosette with petals***
Cyprus: Enkomi			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Cyprus: Kition					✓	✓		
Cyprus: Maa-Palaikastro				✓		✓	✓	
Cyprus: Hala Sultan Tekke		✓						
Ugarit	Ras Ibn Hani		✓	Ras Ibn Hani	Minet el-Beida	✓	✓	✓
Canaan: Tel Dan						✓		✓
Canaan: Achziv			✓					
Canaan: Haifa						✓		
Canaan: Dor	✓	✓			✓			
Canaan: Tel Zeror			✓					
Canaan: Tell es-Sa'idiyeh						✓		✓

Figure 7.10: Parallel findings: Cyprus, Ugarit and Canaan

Mediterranean sea-faring communities in the Aegean, Cyprus, Near East and Canaan shared similar elements of material culture and they can be described collectively as "peoples of the sea." Although they existed as independent city-states and were not bound together by a centralized government, several fell within the spheres of influence of centralized-government superpowers like the Egyptians and Hittites. Several of these communities of "peoples of the sea" were subjected to political and military actions (e.g. Battle of Djahy c. 1175 B.C.). To see the "peoples of the sea" as a larger organization of related communities helps to clarify and explain several of their migrations during the 12^{th}–10^{th} centuries B.C. that converged on and departed from Cyprus, their largest resource-rich island in the center of it all.

Chapter 8: Akko Bay and Valley

Several scholars attributed the pottery excavated in Tell Akko and Tell Keisan to the Sea Peoples; and some went so far as to attribute them to the Sherden (Stern 2013: 5 cf Dothan, M. 1986; 1989b; Singer 1988; Raban 1991; Stern 2000b and Mazar, B. 1964) (see Chapter 4: Sherden). Stern (2013) also recounted the idea that c. 1200 B.C. Sea Peoples were responsible for the destruction of coastal Canaan sites along the Sharon Plain and Carmel that ended Canaanite culture and Egyptian domination. As for the region farther north, he added that the settlements in ‘Akko and Tell Keisan suffered destruction, abandonment, and renewed settlement in the Iron I by the Sea Peoples. The sections below further explore the findings and theories about sites in the Akko Bay and Valley (Figure 8.1), their relation to the Sea Peoples, and context within the Zorea Model (see Chapter 6: Tjeker).

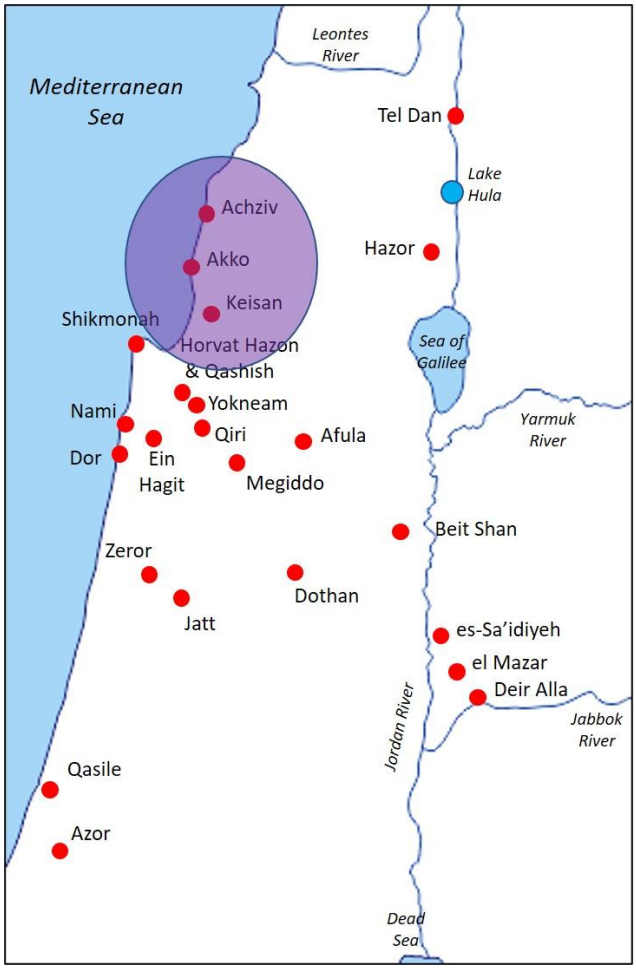


Figure 8.1: Map of northern Canaan, esp. Akko Bay and Valley

1. ʻAkko

Tell Akko (or Tell el-Fukhar) is located on the northern side of the Akko Bay near the northern bank of the Na'aman river (once known as the Belos). It was excavated in the 1970s and 1980s under the direction of M. Dothan (Dothan, M. 1976; 1985). A new expedition since 2010 has been co-directed by A. Killebrew (Pennsylvania State University) (Killebrew 2019: 50) and M. Artzy (University of Haifa) (Artzy 2015: 210).

1.1 Findings

While the Amarna letters indicate that ʻAkko was inhabited during Late Bronze I and II, strata from those periods have yet to be identified. Although the flat top of the rampart's summit seems to have been uninhabited during most of the Middle Bronze and LB I-IIa, it was inhabited during the late 13th – early 12th centuries B.C. (Artzy 2013: 335, cf Artzy 2006a).

Different areas of ʻAkko included finds from the transition period of the Late Bronze and Iron Age such as: a scarab of Egyptian Queen Tausret (or Twosret) (Area AB) (Dothan, M. 1989b: 63-64); lined pits containing Cypriote imports (Area Ph, assumed to be an anchorage) (Zagorski 2004; Artzy 2006a); and a stone altar with incised representations of ships (Area H) (Artzy 2004; Stern 2013: 19, fig. 15 cf Artzy 1986; 2003) (Figure 8.2).

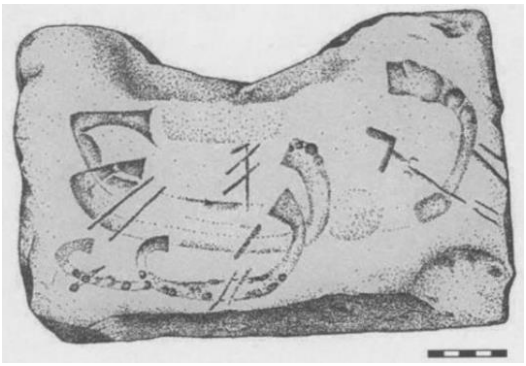


Figure 8.2: Portable altar with incised depiction of ships found in ʻAkko (after Stern 2013)

Areas A, B and AB included homes that were built on top of the old ramparts which had by then lost their defensive character. Their occupants were apparently engaged mainly in craft production. Other houses occupied the northwestern edge of the mound (Area F) where Cypriot-made Mycenaean IIIB and Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery was found (Artzy 2013: 335, cf D'Agata *et al.* 2005: 375). Area AB included production workshop-installations with pottery kilns (Artzy 2006a) as well as an industrial area for metal recycling. Pottery fragments found in situ near one of the kilns included a Mycenaean IIIC:1 bowl.

More Mycenaean IIIC:1b sherds were found in Area B, along with numerous fragments of bronze and copper vessels on a charred flagstone pavement, two burned and charred clay-

smelting crucibles that still had remains of copper adhering to their inner walls, fragments of clay "tuyeres" (or blast pipes used for smelting), and copper slag and fragments of flawed metal vessels that were apparently destined for recycling (Stern 2000: 204). To the west of these installations was the lower part of a unique pottery vessel with extremely thick sides and crushed murex shells, remains of the purple-dye industry (Dothan, M. 1989b: 62-63).

1.2 Interpretations

M. Dothan viewed the workshops, pottery kilns, and incised drawing of ships on the portable altar as attesting to the arrival of a new group of people, perhaps by sea, at the end of the Late Bronze Age (Stern 2013: 19). Parallels of these incised boats appear across the eastern Mediterranean, including Tell Nami and Cyprus (Artzy 2013: 336).

In part due to one interpretation of the Onomasticon of Amenope (Stern 2000: 204, cf Alt 1950), M. Dothan also interpreted the Mycenaean IIIC finds as evidence of 11th century B.C. Sea Peoples, and more specifically to the Sherden (Stern 2000b: 204, cf Dothan, M. 1986; 1993: 20-21; Artzy 2006b: 81, cf Dothan, M. 1986: 107; Stern 2013: 18, cf Dothan, M. 1986: 106; 1989b: 60; Dothan and Dothan 1992: 213-215; Yasur-Landau 2006). According to Artzy (2006b: 81), 'Akko's remains from the 11th century B.C. seem to be concentrated in the eastern part of the tell in Area K (excavated by D. Conrad) and Area P (Artzy personal communication with Beeri).

According to Markoe (2000: 193), Tell Akko was a flourishing fortified city since the Middle Bronze II, shrank to a much smaller settlement in the Early Iron Age, and was refortified in the 9th or 8th centuries B.C. Artzy and Beeri (2010) claimed that the tell was abandoned by the early 12th century B.C. and that some of the city's inhabitants likely transferred to Tell Keisan. Stern (2013: 18, cf Lehmann 2001) noted that the settlement complex collapsed and 'Akko ceased to be a large central city, one that declined in the 11th and 10th centuries B.C. (Lehmann 2001: 92, cf Dothan, M. 1993: 21).

However, Area Ph (an assumed Late Bronze Age anchorage) showed continuity between LB and Iron Ia, with no signs of destruction at all and no continuity into Iron IIa (Artzy 2006b: 81, cf Zagorsky 2004). Artzy (2013: 335, cf Zagorsky 2004) reiterated that there was no sign of destruction attributable to the Sea Peoples and reaffirmed that Area Ph lacked any signs of destruction.

1.3 Zorea Model Applied

The late 13th - early 12th centuries B.C. 'Akko suggest the presence of Sea Peoples. Similar to the Dor region farther to the south (see Chapter 9: Dor, Carmel Coast and Sharon Plain), the Zorea Model attributes these Sea Peoples to the Tjeker (see Chapter 6: Tjeker). The presence of Queen Twosret's scarab suggests some kind of Egyptian presence c. 1190 B.C. Her extremely short rule and the timing of her death may reflect Egypt's unrest and political turnover from which emerged the 20th Dynasty.

Ramesses III's revenge in the Battle of Djahi c. 1175 B.C. may explain why 'Akko's archaeological remains were "uncovered primarily in thick ash deposits" (Stern 2000: 204).

Per the Zorea Model, after a gap of nearly a half century (Stern 2013: 16, table), the Tjeker returned to Canaan c. 1130 B.C., and expanded across the region over time. According to M. Dothan (1986: 107), the 11th century B.C. Akko finds seem similar to Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery from Greece and Cyprus. In general, many of the 'Akko finds also seem to show similarities with findings in other sites like Tell Keisan, Achziv, and Tell Jatt (Artzy 2006b: 80).

2. Tell Keisan

Tell Keisan is located in the basin of the Akko Plain, in an agricultural area about 5 miles east of the Mediterranean and Akko. It was linked to the coastal trade network and is thought to have been a major granary for nearby Akko (Markoe 2000). Tell Keisan was surveyed and partially excavated in the 1930s by Garstang and Rowe (Seton-Williams 1980). In 1971, excavations were conducted by R. de Vaux, J. Pringnaud, J. Briend and J. Humbert (Briend and Humbert 1980; Bryce 2009). In 2002, 2005 and 2006 excavations were performed under the Israeli Antiquities Authority (2008) carried out by R. Abu Raya and L. Porat, and in 2016 and 2018 excavations continued in a combined effort by D. Schloen (University of Chicago) and Gunnar Lehmann (Ben-Gurion University).

2.1 Stratigraphy

Tell Keisan's excavations, like Tell Dor's, did not penetrate Late Bronze Age strata (Stern 2013: 19). The only complete early Iron Age sequence was excavated in Area B. Other areas were included in the early part of this sequence (strata 13–10) and published in preliminary form (Humbert 1981: 385–97; 1993). Their ceramics were extensively presented and discussed (Burdajewicz 1992; 1994). They included all kinds of bell-shaped bowls with painted spiral decorations and numerous sherds of various vessels bearing two-colored decorations.

2.1.1 Strata 13, 12, 11

The transitional period from Late Bronze Age to Iron Age I exposed both monochrome and bi-chrome "Philistine-type ware" (Briend and Humbert 1980: 197-234; Balensi 1981: 399-401; Brug 1986: 100; Humbert 1993: 864-65). One of the rooms contained pottery buried under a thick layer of debris. The assemblage included a high collared-rim pithos, several storage jars with narrow elongated bodies (in the tradition of Egyptian pottery) and four handles, a few barrel-shaped storage jars with rounded bases, three decorated jugs (one was a wheel-made White painted III type), a flask and a Mycenaean IIIC stirrup jar. Neutron activation analysis of the stirrup jar traced its origins to Kouklia, Cyprus (Gunneweg and Perlman 1994: 561).

2.1.2 Stratum 10

According to Humbert (1993: 864), stratum 10 showed considerable foreign influence. He designated an assemblage of ceramics as "Philistine-ware" or "Levanto-Mycenaean IIIC", which consisted of mostly closed shapes (Briend and Humbert 1980: pl. 70, 1-1f, 2-4b and 74-76), including pyxides, pilgrim flasks and jugs of Cypriote Base Ring shape. Petrographic analysis showed that they were manufactured with local clay (Gunneweg and Perlman 1991: 559-561) which bears no resemblance to the special Cypriote clay used to produce Base Ring ware. They have been linked to the Late Cypriote IIIB tradition (Gilboa 2005: 61) as well as the Mycenaean ceramic tradition (Puech 1980: 221, 225).

2.1.3 Stratum 9

The century-long stratum 9 evidenced signs of prosperity and wealth (Stern 2000: 205), including the renewed construction of massive, well-planned buildings. Stratum 9c (Briend and Humbert 1980) included "Philistine sherds" from before c. 980 B.C. Strata 9a and 9b included red or orange slipped fine tableware that was decorated with black painted horizontal lines and concentric circles. This type of pottery is also known as Cypro-Phoenician, Black-on-Red, or BoR pottery (Schreiber 2003: Ch. 4). It emerged in the 10th century B.C. and, after almost a century of scholarly debate, Schreiber resolved that BoR originated and was manufactured in Cyprus.

Area B, L-365 included a silver hoard in the courtyard of a domestic complex (Pritchard 1981: 499). Metallurgic experts analyzed it and dated its ingots, sheets, wires, rods, jewelry and more to the 11th century B.C. (Thomson and Skaggs 2013).

2.2 Interpretations

Excavators claimed destruction layers in sites along the Carmel, Akko, and Lebanese coasts c. the end of 13th century/1200 B.C.: Tell Keisan (Stern 2000: 205, fig 10.9; 2013: 5) and sites along the Carmel were destroyed by the Sea Peoples and subsequently abandoned until the mid-/late-12th century B.C. (Stern 2000: 204-205; 2013: 16-17, table); whereas Akko and sites northward were destroyed (no mention by whom) and were immediately resettled by Canaanite Phoenicians and not " 'our' Sea Peoples" (Stern 2013: 7 cf Stern 1990, 1991; Caubet 1992; Gilboa 2001b; 2005).

According to Stern (2000: 205), the excavators dated the destruction of Tell Keisan stratum 13 to c. 1200 B.C. Stratum 13 was attributed to the transition period between LB and IA and may have been destroyed by the Sea Peoples (Humbert 1988: 72–73, 76; Markoe 2000: 195). After its destruction, the site was probably occupied immediately, and the so-called "Philistine sherds" appeared in stratum 12 indicating the presence of, or connections with, Sea Peoples (Stern 2000: 205).

Stern (2013: 19) noted that, "According to the excavators, Strata 13-10 could be dated to the twelfth century BCE"; his chronology table (Stern 2013: 16, table) now showed abandonment since before c. 1200 B.C. and stratum 13-12 commencing c. 1150/1130. These conclusions can be summarized in the table below (Figure 8.3):

Stratum	***Date (century B.C.)***	***Occupied by***	***Outcome***
	c. before1200-1150/1130	Abandoned	
13/12	c. 1150/1130-1100	? Sea Peoples	- Stratum 13 Destroyed by Sea Peoples - Stratum 12 Immediately reoccupied
11/10	c. 1100 - early 11th	Foreign influence	- Philistine-type ware - Levanto-Mycenaean IIIC - Late Cypriot IIIB
9c	c. early 11th – mid 11th		- Urban construction - Wealth, Silver hoard - Pit 6067: "Philistine" sherds
Destruction (c. 1050)			
9a-b	c. 1050-980		- Bichrome
Destruction (c. 980)			
8c	c. 980	Israelites	

Figure 8.3: Tell Keisan's stratigraphy and chronology (after Stern 2013)

2.3 Zorea Model Applied

2.3.1 Pottery labels

Some Tell Keisan's finds seem to attest to a new population arriving by sea. Given its Aegean-style and similarity to pottery recognized in southern Canaan (and perhaps influenced by biblical narratives about "Philistines"), some of Tell Keisan's pottery has been described using expressions like "Philistine pottery", "Philistine ware", "Philistine-type ware", and "Philistine sherds" (see Part II: Introduction). Burdajewicz believed the bell-shaped bowls with painted spiral decorations were Philistine-influenced, and the numerous sherds of various vessels bearing two-colored decorations were either definitely or possibly Philistine (Burdajewicz 1992, 1994). However, this identification and classification of two-colored decoration as "Philistine" has been criticized (Gilboa *et al*. 2006: 318):

> "It seems, however, that the excavators' and especially Burdajewicz's definition of "Philistine" pottery is somewhat too sweeping. Based on a comparison with the fragments considered Philistine in the excavation report (Briend and Humbert 1980) and by Brug (1985), Burdajewicz concludes that the identification of a vessel as "Philistine" is quite a fuzzy, subjective matter (1994: 98, Table III.1); he states that he classified practically any piece with two-colored decoration as Philistine in style (1994: 94). This is extremely misleading; for example, as indicated above, the virtual equation of "Philistine" with two-colored decoration led Burdajewicz to suggest that the Phoenician Bichrome decoration derived from Philistine pottery (1994: 95).

> Thus, most of the above-mentioned vessels and fragments are in fact common two-colored "Canaanite" vessels of Late Bronze Age derivation."

Nonetheless, Tell Keisan's "Philistine ware" and "Philistine sherds" shared the similar types of Aegeanizing styles; and subsequent bichrome BoR (Schreiber 2003: Ch. 4) derived from Cyprus likewise shared Aegeanizing influences. According to the Zorea Model, all these variants of Aegeanized wares can likewise be attributed to the Tjeker.

2.3.2 Parallels

The 11th century B.C. Tell Keisan findings have parallels in other sites of Canaan and Cyprus that were occupied by the Tjeker (Figure 8.4) and exemplify the Tjeker's diverse and international economy:

#	*Object*	*Tell Keisan Stratum*	*Parallel*	*Reference*
1	Building architecture	9	Ein Hagit Afula Megiddo VIA	Harrison 2004: 18 cf Wolff 1998: 450-52, figs. 1-2; Briend and Humbert 1980: 197-206, figs. 51-52, 54
2	Ceramics	10-9c	Dor G/12 Tell Jatt (11th century B.C.); Kouklia (Cyprus) (12th–11th centuries B.C.)	Artzy 2006b: 76, 95; Gunneweg and Perlman 1994: 561; D'Agata *et al*. 2005: 375
3	Pilgrim flasks	9c	Tell Jatt	Briend and Humbert 1980: pl. 76
4	Collared pithos	9	Ein Hagit Megiddo	Harrison 2004: 32 cf Wolf 1998: fig. 3; Briend and Humbert 1980: pl. 68:1

Figure 8.4: Comparative Table: Tell Keissan after c. 1130 B.C.

2.3.3 Silver hoard

Silver was a metal of interest around the Mediterranean in the Iron Age. Although the southern Levant has no native geological silver sources of its own, more than 30 silver hoards were discovered in sites such as Tell Keisan (Nodet 1980: 325-6; Thomson and Skaggs 2013; Eshel 2014; Wood *et al.* 2019), Dor (Stern 1998: 46-62; 2001: 19-26; Thompson and Skaggs 2013) and Megiddo (Loud 1948; Stern 2001: 19-26).

Most of these dated to the Iron Age (Eshel 2014: 1). Some have suggested that silver replaced gold as the primary metal in complex jewelry of the early Iron Age (Thompson 2003; Golani 2009; Gilboa 2013). Biblical narratives recall that King David defeated his enemies and acquired vast quantities of silver from them (2 Samuel 8:11, 1 Chronicles 22:14) c.980 B.C.

Although unrefined silver is most commonly found in galena ore (or lead sulfide), it can also be found in other minerals, such as cerussite (lead carbonate) or jarosite (Muhly 1998: 318; Moorey 1999: 232–233). Lead isotope analyses indicated that the northern Canaan silver hoards may have come from the western Mediterranean (either Sardinia or Iberia as both sources are nearly indistinguishable) and not from Anatolia (Taurus) or the Aegean (Laurion) (Thompson and Skaggs 2013). Wood *et al*. (2019) noted that southern Canaan silver came from Taurus and that northern Canaan silver came from Iberia. Two types of Iberian silver were used in Early Iron Age hoards: native silver and silver from jarositic ores which required cupellation (Wood *et al.* 2019: 22; Eshel *et al.* 2019: 6010).

A silver hoard from Tell Keisan underwent three different lead isotope analysis studies between 2013 and 2018 (Thompson and Skaggs 2013: Table 3; Eshel 2014: 12; Wood *et al.* 2019: Table 1). One of its unique characteristics was an extremely high percentage of gold (c. 20%) (Eshel 2014: 116, 106, Table 4.5). A highly probable source may have been the intensely exploited silver mines of Rio Tinto (Rothenberg *et al.* 1981: 96-116) (see Chapter 15: Tjeker in Iberia), only 45 miles north of Huelva. According to Eshel (2014: 116, Item 3) (translated by Zorea from Hebrew):

> "From the four hoards in northern Israel that were examined, high levels of gold were measured. There is a possibility that the high percentage of gold corresponds to the jarosite ore of Rio Tinto, Spain. Although there is not complete certainty, a number of measurements of the ore gold percentage in this region favorably correlate with the gold percentages identified in the objects found in northern Israel."

The archaeologists and metallurgists dated the Tell Keisan silver hoard to the 11th century B.C., which happens to coincide with intense maritime activity between the East and Western Mediterranean, warrior steles in Extremadura and Andalusia (see Part III), the bronze bowl of Berzocana (Cáceres) (about 300 km north of Rio Tinto) (see Appendix), and Iberian findings in Amathus, Cyprus and Achziv, Canaan (see Chapter 7 and below §3. Achziv). As previously discussed (see above Chapter 7), "the prospectors, miners, smelters, and refiners of Iberian silver in the Early Iron Age (ca. eleventh century BCE) potentially derived their expertise from mining and extracting the silver from the jarosite ores of Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age" (Wood *et al.* 2020). Furthermore, they arrived in Iberia in advance of the Phoenicians (Wood *et al.* 2019: 25).

These importers of Iberian silver to northern Canaan may have been Cypriotes (Ruiz-Gálvez Priego 2014a), or Levantine-Canaanites (Almagro Gorbea 2001). According to the Zorea Model, they were the Tjeker who lived in Cyprus and in northern Canaan. In the 12th–11th centuries B.C., the Tjeker had the military, metallurgical, and maritime backgrounds and expertise to connect Iberia, the Aegean, Cyprus, and Canaan (see Chapter 6: Tjeker, Chapter 7: Cyprus and Ugarit, and Chapters 14: Tjeker in Iberia). Therefore, the Tjeker were likely responsible for processing Iberian silver and importing it to Tell Keisan. The early 10th century B.C. silver from King David's enemies in northern Canaan may likewise be attributed to the Tjeker.

What about the Phoenicians? In short, they arrived later, first appearing in the Huelva region (near the Rio Tinto mines) in the late 10th century B.C. or early 9th century B.C. (González de Canales *et al.* 2008: 631-655) and in Cadiz a century later (Gener Basallote *et al.* 2014; Torres Ortiz *et al.* 2014; Celestino and Lopez Ruiz 2016: 303). This earliest arrival estimate nearly coincides with King Solomon and King Hiram partnering and importing silver (1 Kings 10:22) c. mid-10th century B.C. In reference to the fabled mines of King Solomon, one of the peaks of the Rio Tinto mines, which no longer exists, used to be called *Cerro Solomon* (Solomon Hill). The Phoenicians would go on to industrialize silver production, in particular under 8th century B.C. Assyrian rule.

2.3.4 Stratigraphy (per Zorea Model)

The Zorea Model (see Chapter 6: Tjeker) recognizes that during the 12th–10th centuries B.C. different ethnic groups occupied the Akko Valley and Tell Keisan (Figure 8.5). Given their proximity to each other and their close ties, Tell Keisan may have been an agricultural outpost for Tell Akko (Markoe 2000: 194). Although Tell Keisan's excavations have not yet penetrated into the late 13th-early 12th centuries B.C., any similarities with 'Akko during that period cannot be evaluated at this time. However, by c. 1130 B.C., the Tjeker returned to northern Canaan and Tell Keisan was one of their first rebuilding sites (strata 12-10). Those who imported 11th century B.C. silver from Iberia may have likely passed through coastal 'Akko. They stayed for about 150 years until the Israelites took over c. 980 B.C.

Stratum	***Date (century B.C.)***	***Occupied by***	***Outcome***
	c. before 1200 - mid-12th	n/a	- Abandoned?
13	Mid-12th–1130	Canaanites	- Destroyed by Tjeker
12-10	c. 1130	Tjeker	- Immediately reoccupied - "Philistine-type" monochrome and bichrome ware - Levanto-Mycenaean IIIC - Late Cypriot IIIB
Destruction (c. 1050)			
9c	c. 1050-980	Tjeker	- Urban construction - Wealth, Silver hoard - Pit 6067: "Philistine" sherds
9a-b			- Bichrome
Destruction (c.980)			
8c	c. 980 onwards	Israelites	

Figure 8.5: Tell Keisan's stratigraphy and chronology (per Zorea Model)

3. Achziv

Achziv is located on a mound, south of the Nahal Keziv estuary, in the northern coast of present Israel, 15 km north of Akko and 25 km south of Tyre. South of the site is a natural bay. The site itself was surrounded by a fosse (Prausnitz 1993: 32). Parts of Tell Achziv and its four cemeteries have been excavated. The southern cemetery was half km away near the sea shore, on the southern side of the Sha'al River, on a stand-stone ridge and covered by sand-dunes. This cemetery spread over many dunams and its exact size is uncertain (Mazar, E. 2001).

In 1941 Immanuel Ben-Dor, on behalf of the British Government's Mandatory Department of Antiquities, conducted the first archaeological excavation at the southern cemetery. A report included his excavations at both the southern and eastern cemeteries between 1941-1944 (Dayagi-Mendels 2002). The excavations were followed by Prausnitz (1959, 1960a, 1960b, 1962, 1963, 1965, 1967,1969, 1975, 1982, 1992, 1993, 1997) and by E. Mazar from 1988 to 1990 on behalf of the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Mazar, E. 2001; 2004).

3.1 "Warrior Tomb" 1029

The oldest tombs in the southern cemetery are unique in their building style. They were built of rough stones and include late 11th century B.C. Type I.A cist tombs and late 11th or early 10th century B.C. Type I.B chamber tombs (Mazar, E. 2001: 159). In 1963 Prausnitz discovered three such cist tombs (oriented north-south) on the east slope of the tell (Prausnitz 1963: 388, 1993: 32, 1997: 19-23, Giveon 1988: 28). In 1989 another cist tomb was found and labeled TC.3 (Mazar, E. 2001).

The tombs were rectangular in shape, 2.00 - 2.25 m long and .90 - 1.20 m wide. After digging a pit into the ground, stone walls were built. The floors were covered with a thin layer of pebbles (Mazar, E. 2001). One of these was a larger cist tomb measuring 2 x 3 m. It was partially disturbed and built with large roughly hewn stone blocks and smaller fieldstone. It was labeled tomb 1029, or the "Warrior Tomb" on account of its contents (Prausnitz 1993: 338). It included two skeletons lying face up near each other and a number of metal objects near one of the skeletons, including a double-head ax, a spear head, an iron sickle knife, large pilgrim flasks and a metal bowl. Near the other (possibly female) skeleton were a fibula, bi-chrome pilgrim flasks, beads (Prausnitz 1963: 338; 1997: 19-23), and an ivory bowl (Artzy 2006b: 82).

3.2 Interpretations of Achziv/ Tomb 1029

3.2.1 Construction

The construction style of tomb 1029 is known from 13th/ 12th century B.C. cist tombs in Ugarit and Enkomi (Cyprus), 11th century B.C. Tel Zeror and Azor (Edrey *et al.* 2018: 166) and

10th century B.C. Khalde (Mura 2015). The pre-10th century B.C. sites were known to have an Aegeanizing presence and/or influences. E. Mazar (2001: 157, 159) further attributed Achziv's tomb to the same Sea Peoples responsible for Tel Zeror's early cist graves:

> "In the southern cemetery of Achziv in the Iron Age, the built tombs (Types 1.A and 1.B) are the earliest evidence for burials found so far. These tombs, built of rough stones, are unique in building style at Achziv. This style is known from the 11th century site where Sea Peoples settled, such as Tel Zeror and Tell Farah (S). This evidence suggests that the Sea Peoples settled in Achziv."

Kochavi (1993: 1525) considered it possible that 11th century B.C. Tel Zeror was Tjeker since the citadel included a traditionally Aegean lioness-shaped rhyton, and there were cist graves with bronze goods. One of these was an 11th century B.C. special type of bronze oil lamp with a closed nozzle, comparable to one from Tell Jatt, another Tjeker site.

In contrast, Artzy (2006b: 82) claimed there was no reason to attribute Achziv's burials to Sea Peoples.

Finally, Achziv tomb 1029's "tradition may be represented by brick-lined cist graves in Azor (Edrey *et al.* 2018: 166 cf Ben-Shlomo 2012: 33-53, fig. 4.3). While Edrey posited a Phoenician origin, there is no evidence that 12th–10th centuries B.C. Azor was in the hands of Tyrians/ Phoenicians. On the other hand, burials like Azor tomb D63 included an 11th century B.C. Berzocana-type bowl which reinforces an Aegean presence.

3.2.2 Contents

Tomb 1029's rich contents are comparable to Megiddo VIB or VIA (Prausnitz 1997: 22) and indicate its owners enjoyed access to imported goods from the 11th century B.C., which overlaps with the Cypro-Geometric I horizon c. 1050-950 B.C. when comparing the chronology of Dor and Cyprus (Gilboa 1999: 12-13).

Achziv's bronze double-head axe (Miron 1985: 125, No 304) might be viewed as either a tool or a weapon. It has parallels in three other sites: 1) 11th century B.C. axes found in Megiddo VIA (Prausnitz 1997: 22-23; Artzy 2006b: 40, 62, fig. 2.8:7, pl. 14.1; Stern 2013); 2) an 11th or early 10th century B.C. nearly identical axe in Tell Jatt (Artzy 2006b: 79; Edrey *et al.* 2018: fig. 9:2); and 3) a late-11th century B.C. axe in Tell Qasile (Miron 1985: 126 No. 309; Negbi 1991: 237). In the 10th century B.C. iron-made double-head axes replaced those made of bronze (Miron 1985: 130). Thus, tomb 1029's bronze double-head axe dates to the 11th or very early 10th century B.C.

The Achziv double-head axe may have originated in Crete or mainland Mycenaean Greece. Mycenaean-type double axes have been found in Europe and Anatolia (Bouzek 1985: 46); 12th century B.C. Enkomi (Dikaios 1969: pl. 163; Catling 1964: fig. 9:1); and in Megiddo in 11th/10th centuries B.C. strata VIB–VIA (Loud 1948: pl. 183: 14–15) as well as 10th century B.C. Level H-9 (Yasur-Landau 2013). Axes from Schumacher's excavations of Iron I Megiddo (Miron 1992: 80, No 313, Artzy 2006b: 53) show indisputable Aegean affinities (Negbi 1991:

237). These axes, like most of their counterparts from the Levant and Cyprus, are typologically related to the oval-shafted variant used in the eastern Aegean rather than to the round-shafted Cretan originals (Miron 1985*:* 127-129).

Tomb 1029 included a socketed spearhead (Edrey *et al.* 2018: 172 fig. 9:1) dated to the 11th century B.C. (Prauznitz 1997: 22). The best parallels were 11th century B.C. bronze spearheads from Tell Jatt (Artzy 2006b: fig. 2.7:1–5), the one from Megiddo VI (Loud 1948: pl. 173: 11–13) and those in Early Iron Age Tel Zeror tombs VI and VIII (Ohata 1970: pl. LXIII: 6-7; defined as javelins).

The tomb included an iron sickle blade (Edrey *et al.* 2018: 172). Such blades became common in the southern Levant during the 11th century B.C. (*ibid*., cf Waldbaum 1980: 85–86; Sherratt 2016).

There also was a bronze asymmetric fibula (Edrey 2018: fig. 9:3) with three beads (Stronach 1959: fig. I.5; Birmingham 1963: 91, fig. 5a, d; Giesen 2001: 111-144, 372, pls. 22–23). This kind of bronze fibula first appeared in mid-11th century B.C. Cyprus and shortly afterwards spread to the southern Levant, where it was used until the 8th century B.C. (cf Pedde 2000: 356–357, pl. 6).

At last, there were bone inlay plaques (Edrey *et al.* 2018: fig. 10:10) which had parallels in Bronze Age and Iron Age contexts (*ibid.*, cf Mazar, E. 2001: 94, fig. 40.1–5; 2004: fig. 31.55, 57-60; Ben-Shlomo and Dothan 2006).

3.3 Zorea Model Applied

Achziv's tombs included objects that indicate that the city was very active and involved in maritime trade. The weaponry suggests their owners may have been warrior elites. Others were metallurgists who used 11th century B.C. Feynan copper to produce bronze objects (see Chapter 12: Jordan and Arabah Valleys; Chapter 13: Material Culture; Appendix: Bronze Bowl of Berzocana).

The "Warrior Tomb" 1029 is one of the Achziv's oldest tombs. Its agriculture-related objects indicate that its owners may have worked the land. Most of its contents had parallels in sites known to have an Aegaean (likely Tjeker) presence, including 12th century B.C. Cyprus. The tomb's structure and content date it to the late 11th or early 10th centuries B.C.

After the Israelite military coalition stormed northern Canaan c. 980 B.C. attacking and destroying Tjeker locations, it left some sites like Achziv abandoned for a brief period. E. Mazar (2001: 157) observed:

> "Tomb TC.4 (Type 1.B) was never finished. Its rough building-stone style does not continue among the other tombs in Achziv during the Iron Age. Since we have not found any other tombs of this type here, it might be assumed that the discontinuation of this style of building is related to the disappearance of the Sea Peoples from Achziv."

Two meters south of tomb 1029 was tomb 1015 which included an 11th century B.C. bronze bowl (Edrey *et al.* 2018: fig. 9.5) (Figure 8.6) typical of Aegean elite burials (see

Appendix: Bronze Bowl of Berzocana). Such bowls were found in tombs in the southern Levant (Gershuny 1985: 2-12, 23-45) and Cyprus. On these items, Artzy (2006b: 56) wrote:

> "Although curved bowls are not common in Cyprus, the resemblance between them and the Cypriot lavers –curved bowls with rounded sunken bases– might be significant to the search for the origin of the shape. Catling suggested that the laver shape is Mycenaean in tradition. Indeed, a «classical» laver (J-65) was found in Jatt side by side with the curved bowls."

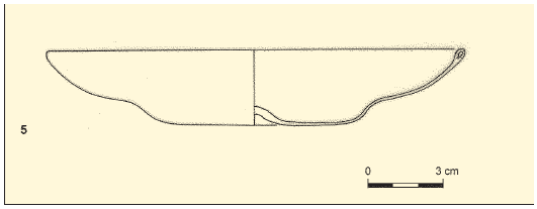


Figure 8.6: The Achziv bronze bowl (after Edrey *et al.* 2018)

While not totally identical, this bronze bowl reflects a reasonable level of similarity with those in Tell Jatt (Artzy 2006b: 28, fig. 2.1: 6–10), Megiddo stratum VI (Loud 1948: pl. 190:12), and the bowl of Berzocana. Such bowls ceased to be found beyond the early Iron Age IIA (Matthäus 1985: 115-116, nos. 331–337), which happens to correspond to the end of Tjeker material culture in the region when they were defeated by the Israelites in Canaan c. 980 B.C. If tomb 1015's bronze bowl is a variant of the Berzocana-type bowl, it suggests that its elite were buried according to an Aegean tradition and hints that the other nearby cist tombs may likewise have been Aegean.

Bronze objects in Achziv, Tell Keisan, Tell Akko and Tell Jatt showed similarities (Artzy 2006b: 80) and lead isotope analyses revealed that similar objects found in Achziv, Tell Jatt, Megiddo and Tel Zeror were made with Feynan copper (Artzy 2006b: 86) as well as the bronze bowl of Berzocana (Wood *et al.* 2020: 6-8). This reinforces the breadth of reach of Tjeker trading from northern coastal Canaan to more southern sites and the Arabah Valley (see Chapter 12: Jordan and Arabah Valleys).

The surviving Tjeker-elites once more found refuge in Cyprus. From there they continued to manage their business, but it was never the same. Any surviving Tjeker who stayed in Canaan likely remained under Israelite control and over time assimilated with the local population. Achziv may have remained abandoned between c. 980-950 B.C., until Phoenicians moved into the region in the second half of the 10th century B.C.

This regional in-migration caused a shift in material-culture finds and is typified by sites like Horvat Rosh Zayit (7 km east of Tell Keisan and 2 km northeast of Kabul). Horvat Rosh Zayit was excavated under the direction of Zvi Gal. He suggested that like the biblical accounts of the twenty cities of the land of Kabul (1 Kings 9:11), Israelites withdrew from Horvat Rosh Zayit and Tyrians moved in. The Tyrians made it an administrative center, collected agricultural produce and sent it to their capital, Tyre. They remained there until the 9th century B.C. when Israelite King Ahab recovered the site (Gal, personal communication).

Phoenician tombs, of either cremation burials or inhumations, that traditionally included the "ceramic standard set" date from the late 10th century B.C. (Nunez 2011: 283, 2014: 59-60, 2015: 238). Parallels of these have been found in Achziv (Mazar, E. 2001: 15-76), Khalde (Saidah 1966; 1967), Tambourit (Saidah 1977), Atlit (Johns 1933: 60-62, figs. 4, 16, 19) and Tell er-Ruqeish (Culican 1973).

However, Tomb 1029 and its contents exemplify Aegean traditions. The 11th century B.C. tomb predates Tyrian tombs by about 50-100 years, its contents (i.e. metal objects and bone inlay plaques) are more typically Aegaean in nature and not Tyrian, and it lacks the Tyrian funerary standard ceramic set. In other words, Tomb 1029 was not a Tyrian tomb, but rather a Tjeker one.

In conclusion, the vast majority of the literature covering 11th century B.C. Achziv has attributed it to Tyrians and Sherden (e.g. Stern 2013: 17) (see Chapter 4: Sherden), as well as to the tribe of Asher (Onomasticon of Amenope) (see Chapter 5: Asherites). Although the Onomasticon mentions the Tjeker, none of the modern literature has suggested a Tjeker presence in Achziv. However, the archaeological evidence (e.g. southern cemetery Tomb 1029) and historical context does suggest a Tjeker presence sometime in 11th to early-10th centuries B.C. Achziv.

Chapter 9: Dor, Carmel Ridge and Sharon Plain

This chapter discusses some of the archaeological findings in Dor, the Carmel Ridge and the Sharon Plain, including sites like Ein Hagit, Tel Nami, Shikmona, Tel Zeror, Tell Jatt and Tell Qasile as they relate to the Tjeker (Figure 9.1).

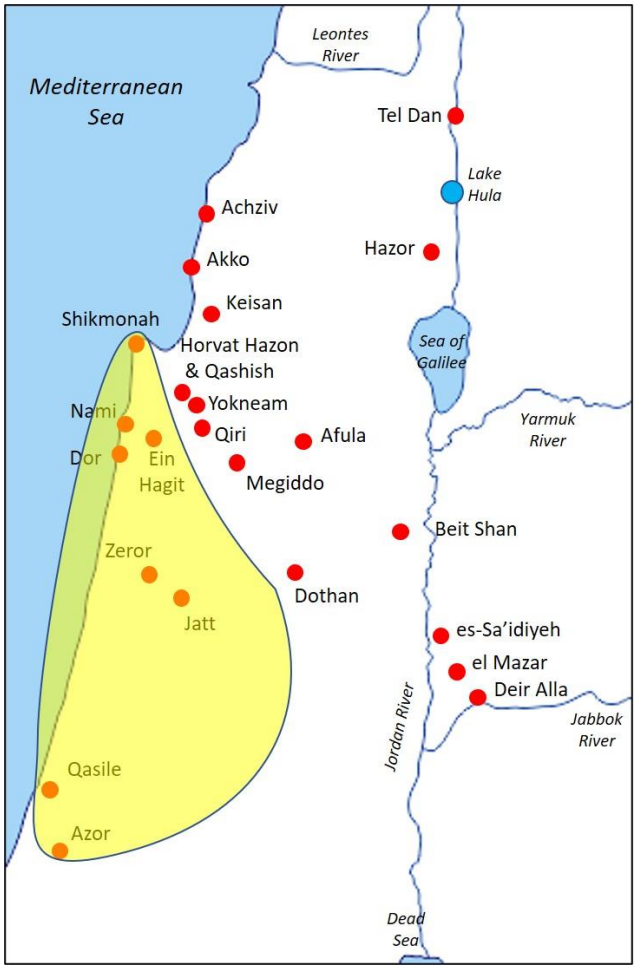


Figure 9.1: Map of northern Canaan, esp. Dor, Carmel Ridge and Sharon Plain

1. Tel Dor

The city-port of Dor linked the Mediterranean with the agricultural hinterland in the valley of the Carmel Ridge, Megiddo and beyond. Excavations started almost a century ago. The first two seasons were carried out between 1924 and 1929 under the auspices of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem headed by J. Garstang (Stern 1995: 4-6). Undersea surveys and studies were conducted in the late 1970s and 80s by A. Raban (Raban 1982, 1983, 1987). Since the 1980s, excavations were led by E. Stern (Stern 1994b, 2000a) and since the early

2000's by A. Gilboa (Haifa University) and I. Sharon (Hebrew University of Jerusalem) (Gilboa *et al.* 2018).

Remains of Iron I Dor have been identified in different areas of the site (Stern 2000b: 198; Gilboa *et al.* 2018: 30, Table 2.1). Area G included the only strata of the Late Bronze Age to Iron Age transition.

1.1 Findings and interpretations

The archaeological findings at Dor and their interpretations have been extensive. Garstang concluded that the site was settled in the Late Bronze I, destroyed in the 13th century B.C. and resettled in Iron I (Stern 1995: 4-6). Regarding Dor's Sea Peoples, there are two schools of thought and they are discussed below.

1.1.1 Stern

Stern (2013: 5, cf Gadot 2008, Paley and Porath 1993; Kochavi 1993; Herzog *et al.* 1989; Stern 1978; Stern 2000a; Artzy 1993; Elgavish 1994; Dothan, M. 1955; 1986; Ben-Tor *et al.* 2003; Ben-Tor *et al.* 2005) claimed that coastal sites like Dor "without exception – were laid waste at the end of the thirteenth century BCE in a total destruction that put an end to Canaanite culture and Egyptian domination" and which excavators attributed to the Sea Peoples.

Based on Dor's finds and Egyptian texts such as the Tale of Wenamun and the Onomasticon of Amenope, Stern attributed Dor as a Sikil town (Stern 1991, 1993b, 1994b, 1995). Over the years and after continued excavations, he consistently added to the repertoire of finds he attributed to the Sea Peoples in the "city of the Sikils". However, he would modify his conclusion regarding the site's destructions as discussed farther below. Stern (1991: 86) described Area B1's strata XII and XI-X as being the "city of the Sikils" in the mid-12th to 11th centuries B.C., being destroyed and conquered by King David c. 1000 B.C. (Figure 9.2).

Area B1		
Stratum	***Occupied by***	***Period (B.C.)***
XII	"city of the Sikils" (Wen-Amon story)	c. 1150-1050
XI-X	"city of the Sikils" (Aegean objects from Cyprus)	c. 1050-1000
IX		
Destruction and conquest by King David		
VIII	Period of United Monarchy	c. 1000-925
Destroyed by Egyptian Pharaoh Shishak		

Figure 9.2: Dor's stratigraphy and chronology (after Stern 1991)

Stern (2000b: 199, 201) published new findings from Area G, dating an earlier Sikil phase 10 to the first half of the 12th century B.C., a late Sikil phase 9 between the mid-12th - mid-11th centuries B.C., attributing a mid-11th century B.C. destruction to Phoenicians who remained during phases 8-6, and were subsequently conquered by the Israelites c. 1000 B.C. (Stern 2000a: 101-104, 2000b: 199) (Figure 9.3).

According to Stern (2000b: 199), most of the pottery assemblage, dated to the second half of the 12th century B.C. and the beginning of the 11th century B.C., was locally manufactured. The collection included a huge pithos decorated with a relief design of wavy lines. This pithos type is especially known from Cyprus (Taylor 1957: 56-58; figs. 29:35g – 362; Åström 1972: 26 type IEa; fig. LXXII:16, p.264; Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983: 113-115; Karageorghis and Demas 1984: 34 pls. XXI-XXIV).

Stern also incorporated much of Raban's findings into his own analysis. Raban attributed Dor's harbor installations to one of the Sea Peoples, noting parallels with quay structures in Malia, Crete (cf Van Effenterre 1980: 75-77), quay platforms and "composite" anchors in Kition (Cyprus), as well as ashlar headers in Maa Palaeokastro (Cyprus) (Raban 1987: 126). He went on to conclude that these discoveries at Dor echoed C. Schaeffer's association of the 13th century B.C. "ashlar builders" and the Aegean (Raban 1987: 126, cf Schaeffer 1962) (see Chapter 7: Cyprus and Ugarit).

Area G			***Area B1***		
Phase	***Occupied by***	***Period (B.C.)***	***Phase***	***Occupied by***	***Period (B.C.)***
10	Early Sikil phase	First half of 12th century	n/a	n/a	n/a
9	Late Sikil phase	c. 1150-1050	XII	"city of the Sikils"	c. 1150-1050
Destruction (c. 1050): ash and brick burned red from fire					
8	Phoenician	c. 1050-1000	XI-X	Phoenician	c. 1050-1000
7					
6			IX		
Destruction and conquest (c. 1000) by King David					

Figure 9.3: Dor's stratigraphy and chronology (after Stern 2000b)

According to Sharon and Gilboa (2013: 461), using a site's destructions and disruptions in material culture to assess culture succession, Stern implied the presence of four cultures (Canaanite to Sikil, Sikil to Phoenician, and Phoenician to Israelite) whereas Raban implied three cultures (assuming only two destructions: one in the early 12th century B.C. and one sometime in the late 11th or early 10th century B.C.).

Furthermore, the c. 1200 B.C. Canaanite-Phoenicians who reoccupied more northerly coastal sites were not "'our' Sea Peoples", which emphasized the difference between Dor's Sikil and Canaanite Phoenicians (Stern 2013: 7). Stern highlighted Aegean elements in the east side

wall's Cyclopean foundation (Area B1) and the trough-shaped clay installation as evidence of familiar Greek architecture unique to the local landscape (Area G) (Stern 2013: 14, cf Stern 2000a: 348, Fig. 247). While he still attributed Dor's mid-11th century B.C. destruction to Phoenicians, he observed that the subsequent finds between "1050-980 B.C., are of a mixed character, with some continuing the earlier Sea Peoples' tradition and other reflecting ever earlier local traditions…I now believe that I exaggerated the "Phoenicianization" of Dor after the city's destruction" (Stern 2013: 14). In other words, it was still a Sikil city, although with some Phoenician presence (Figure 9.4):

<table>
<tr><th colspan="3">Area G</th><th colspan="3">Area B1</th></tr>
<tr><th>Phase</th><th>Occupied by</th><th>Period (B.C.)</th><th>Phase</th><th>Occupied by</th><th>Period (B.C.)</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">Destruction (c. 1200) (by Sea Peoples)</td></tr>
<tr><td>10</td><td>Early Sikil</td><td>First half of 12th century</td><td>n/a</td><td>n/a</td><td>n/a</td></tr>
<tr><td>9</td><td>Late Sikil</td><td>c. 1150-1050</td><td>XII</td><td>Late Sikil "city of the Sikils"</td><td>c. 1150-1050</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">Destruction (c. 1050): ash and brick burned red from fire (by Phoenicians)[30]</td></tr>
<tr><td>8</td><td rowspan="3">Continuing traditions of Sea Peoples and local</td><td rowspan="3">c. 1050-980</td><td>XI-X</td><td rowspan="3">Continuing traditions of Sea Peoples and local</td><td rowspan="3">c. 1050-1000</td></tr>
<tr><td>7</td><td rowspan="2">IX</td></tr>
<tr><td>6</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">Conquest by King David (c. 980)</td></tr>
</table>

Figure 9.4: Dor's stratigraphy and chronology (after Stern 2013)

After King David's conquest, either Dor continued to be occupied by Sea Peoples (i.e. Tjeker) or Israelite inhabitants adopted their culture (Stern 1993a: 21-22).

1.1.2 Gilboa

The Sea Peoples established bridge-heads from Tarsus to Ashkelon (Stager 1995: 336, 338). According to Gilboa (2005: 51), many scholars viewed "that the Phoenician cities did suffer devastation by Sea People, but swiftly recuperated. Katzenstein (1973: 69) found it surprising that the Phoenicians managed to survive 'the terrible destructions of their principal cities.'" However, the excavated areas of Phoenician sites like Tyre and Sarepta show no destructions (Gilboa 2005: 50, cf for Tyre: Bikai 1978: 73; 1992: 133; for Sarepta: Anderson 1988: 423). Similarly, Gilboa (2005: 50, contra Stager 1995: 338) noted that the Late Bronze

[30] Halpern (1996: n. 8) attributed this destruction to an Israelite takeover (either Saul or Ishbaal).

Age town of Dor had not yet been found, and so there are no grounds for suggesting that it was violently destroyed by the Sea Peoples at the beginning of the 12th century B.C.

Whereas Stern distinguished between Sikil and Phoenician as different groups and sources for the archaeological evidence, Gilboa attributed Dor's Sikil to the Phoenicians: "the Dor-based maritime activities of the SKL embody the 'Phoenician' *realia* and have nothing to do with Philistia" (Gilboa 2005: 69); "Sikila and Phoenicians are essentially synonymous" (Gilboa 2007: 211); and "the ancient Egyptian term Sikila and our 'early Phoenicians' are in fact synonymous, at least partially" (Gilboa *et al.* 2008: 117). This even included the "small but persistent number of objects locally made, with Philistine, or Philistine-like, or Cypriot, or other 'western' forms, motifs or affinities" (Sharon and Gilboa 2013: 463). As for any Israelite presence of note, this was recognized in the mid-9th to mid-8th centuries B.C. (Gilboa *et al.* 2015: 72).

1.2 Zorea Model Applied

1.2.1 Tjeker findings and parallels

Several finds in Dor have been attributed to the Tjeker, including a notched cow scapula decorated with numerous incised parallel lines along its upper edge (Webb 1986: 326) (Figure 9.5) with parallels in Tell Qasile, Tel Zeror and Megiddo (Mazar, A. 1985a: 101-2). It is not clear if they were used as musical instruments in cultic ceremonies, or as instruments of prophecy in the temples (Stern 1994a: 6). Other finds included a small decorated chalice, a cult stand comparable to one in Tell Qasile, and knives with bone handles with pre-11th century B.C. parallels in Cyprus (Sherratt 1994: 86-87; Snodgrass 1994: 171-173).

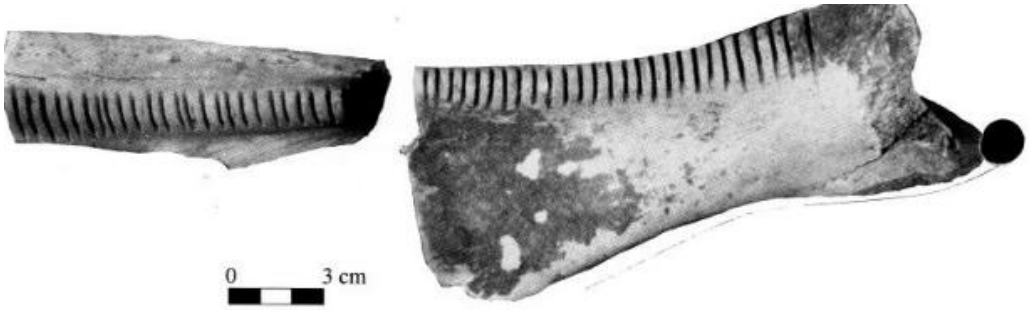


Figure 9.5: Cow scapula with parallel lines on its upper edge, found at Dor (after Stern 1994a)

Non-metal finds attributed to the Tjeker include a clay-lion and lioness-shaped cups, similar to those found in Megiddo, Tel Zeror and Tell Qasile (Mazar, A. 1985a: 101-2). Bowls found in Dor had parallels in multiple sites in the Akko Plain and the Jezreel Valley including Tell Keisan (Burdajewicz 1994: pls. 12:15-15a, 17:3-4, 19:18-19, 34:21) and Yokneam (Zarzecki-Peleg 1997a: fig. 12:7).

A miniature anthropomorphic vessel was found in the mud-brick building in Area D2 and compared to a similar juglet from Tell Qasile stratum XII (Stern 2000a: figs. 245 left and right). Other findings included a huge pithos decorated with a relief design of wavy lines known also from Akko and especially Cyprus.

1.2.2 Tjeker vs Phoenician

Many of Dor's findings that Stern (2000b: 199-201; 2013) attributed to the Sikil, Sharon and Gilboa (2013: 455) attributed to the Phoenicians. According to Stern's latest model, Dor had an early Sikil phase in the first half of the 12th century B.C., a main Sikil phase c. 1130-1050 B.C. which was destroyed by Phoenicians, and a rebuilt city c. 1050-980 B.C. that continued traditions of Sea Peoples and older local ones until it was conquered by Israelites c. 980 B.C. According to Gilboa's model, there were no Sea Peoples in Dor and instead there was a continuous Phoenician presence for about 250 years (c. 1130- mid-9th/mid-8th century B.C.). Sharon and Gilboa (2013: 467) wrote:

> "If the question that is posed is: "Given that there was a 'Sea People' migration to the Levant, and that Dor is the capital of the SKL – how would one define 'SKL' material culture?" The answer: "monochrome pottery with spirals, bimetallic knives, notched scapulae" etc. might be indeed appropriate. If, however, the question is phrased: "If it were not for the serendipity of Mr. Golenischeff acquiring a papyrus in Cairo one fine day 111 years ago (referring here to the Report of Wenamun), would anyone have even suspected that 'SKL' inhabited Dor in the early Iron Age?" Our answer is: "probably not". But perhaps what we might try to do is redefine our understanding of the nature of the phenomena subsumed under this label."

They might likewise question other scholarly assumptions based on Egyptian texts. For example, were it not for the Onomasticon of Amenope, which was found in a jar along with the Tale of Wenamun and Tale of Woe (Quirke 2004: 19), would anyone have theorized a Sherden presence in the Akko region or farther north? (Independent of this question, the Zorea Model disputes this theory based on other factors; see Chapter 4: Sherden). Likewise, were it not for the Amarna Letter from Byblos (*EA* 89, Moran 1992: 162), would anyone have suspected there was a 14th century B.C. palace in Tyre comparable with Ugarit's (even though there are no archaeological remains of such a Tyrian palace to support such a claim)?

Gilboa (2005: 53) wrote: "The shortcomings of an investigation concentrating predominantly on one medium are only too obvious, especially when pottery is involved." In that regard, while there are similar ceramics in northern Canaan and southern Phoenicia, the broader profiles of the people behind those ceramics before the 10th century B.C. are different. Like Stern (2013: 7) said, the c. 1200 B.C. Canaanite Phoenicians were not "'our' Sea Peoples". Egyptian sources explicitly name the Tjeker in the c. 1175 Battle of Djahi and in early 11th century B.C. Dor (Tale of Wenamun), both in northern Canaan. The archaeological evidence supports the Tjeker of the late 13th – early 10th centuries B.C. as metallurgic, military, maritime and trading-elites in the Aegean, Cyprus, northern Canaan and Iberia. The harbor technology of the late 13th century B.C. "ashlar builders", who were likely rooted in Aegean culture (see Chapter 7: Cyprus

and Ugarit), was introduced to Dor for the first time when the Tjeker returned in the late 12th century B.C. (Figure 9.6).

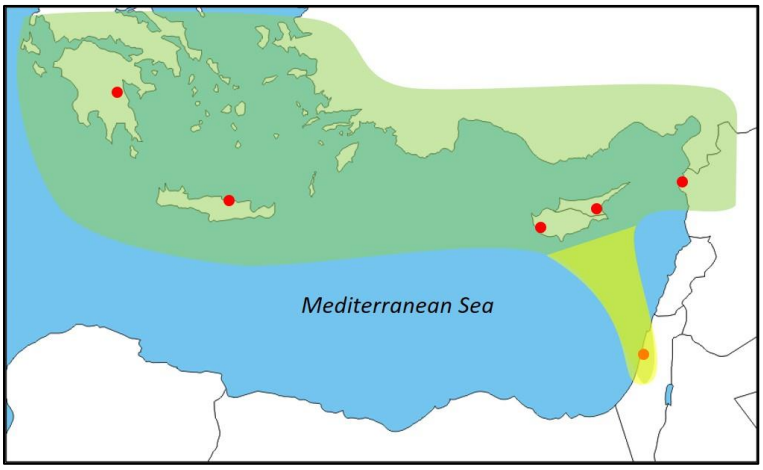


Figure 9.6: Harbor technology extended to late 12th century B.C. Dor

Per the Zorea Model (Chapter 6: Tjeker), the Tjeker conquered northern Canaan's interior from the Egyptians by destroying their garrisons (e.g. Tel Dan, Megiddo, Beit Shean, etc.) c. 1130 B.C. The Tjeker made coastal Dor, which had remained abandoned since the Battle of Djahi c. 1175 B.C., their capital city.

Around c. 1050 B.C., the Tjeker rebuilt Dor. They expanded to other sites in northern Canaan (e.g. Tel Dan, Tell Qasile, Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, etc.) (see Chapter 11: East Galilee and Chapter 12: Jordan and Arabah Valleys). They brought a variety of metals (i.e. Feynan copper, British and Iberian tin, and Iberian silver) (see Chapter 14: Tjeker in Iberia) to northern Canaan in the mid-11th century B.C. They used Feynan copper to produce bronze works (including Aegean drinking vessels that were interred with warriors) that were found across northern Canaan, Cyprus and Iberia.

1.2.3 Analysis

More relevant than whether or not Sea Peoples destroyed Dor in the late 13th century B.C. is that Aegeans/ Sea Peoples were actually present there in late 13th/ early 12th century B.C. Dor as evidenced by Area G stratum 11's increased concentration of Aegean-type imports from Cyprus (Gilboa *et al.* 2018: 28, 34-35; Stockhammer 2018: 79-84). These included mostly commercial containers, some kraters and bowls. The shapes of the deep bowls and one-handled conical bowls were rare in the Levant. One of the jar handles was incised with a possible Cypro-Minoan sign.

Gilboa *et al.*'s (2018: 30) Table 2.1 of comparative stratigraphy and chronology of Area G includes a "missing" phase between phases 11 and 10. Gilboa *et al.* (2018: 28) wrote:

> "As regards ceramics, the Iron Age traditions emerge from those of the LBA. However, at least in the limited area where LBA layers were exposed, there seems to be a hiatus in habitation between Phases 11 and 10. The latest pottery in LBA Phase 11, including Cypriot and Aegean-type imports, dates to the early 12th century."

(*ibid.*, 40):

> "As demonstrated by the ceramic analyses (Chapters 17, 20), there seems to have been some temporal gap between the assemblages of Phases 11 and 10. The latest ceramics in Phase 11 are coeval with Tel Nami or even slightly earlier, i.e., they date to the very early 12th century or slightly earlier…
>
> "Thus, at least in the excavated part of Area G, which is the only spot at Dor where the LB/Iron Age transition can currently be defined, there seems to be some sort of hiatus, at the very least two generations long…
>
> "… functionally, Phase 10 represents a continuation of the metal-working industry first attested in LB Phases 12–11."

The Zorea Model (see Chapter 6: Tjeker) attributes these Aegean Sea Peoples to the Tjeker. Their presence was short-lived, lasting until c. 1175 B.C. when the Egyptians/Sherden defeated them in the Battle of Djahi as evidenced by the abandonment period that followed c. 1175-1130 B.C.

This reflects the Tjeker's period in Cyprus, when they started new industrial sites like Maa-Palaeokastro, Pyla-Kokkinokremos and Hala Sultan Tekke (see Chapter 7: Cyprus and Ugarit). In c. 1130 B.C. they migrated back to northern Canaan, expanding Dor considerably. As A. Sherratt and S. Sherratt (1991: 376) stated:

> "Newcomers, chiefly from Cyprus had a decisive role in early Iron Age mercantile activity. This period witnessed a gradual transition from largely administered trade, to largely entrepreneurial."

According to Gilboa (2007: 210): "There is evidence for the arrival of some new groups from Cyprus, a region from which at least part of Philistia's population also originated" and the "only decorated vessels found were commercial containers, first in Canaanite-derived designs which later developed into the so-called 'Phoenician bichrome style'" (Gilboa 2007: 211). Cypriots were the foreigners who arrived in and around Dor in the 12th and even 11th centuries B.C. (Gilboa and Sharon 2017: 291):

> "… we have repeatedly argued in the past that the examination of Dor's material culture in the Iron Age demonstrates that beyond the local Canaanite substratum, there is mainly a significant Cypriot input, chiefly in local ceramic industries and other crafts such as the production of ivories. The assumption of Cypriot emigrants absorbed at Dor can go a long way to explain the establishment of the close, direct and enduring contacts between Dor and the island."

Some of the Cypriote traits in the 'Bi-chrome Phases' have no antecedents in the Levant indicating the presence of a new population influx (Gilboa and Sharon 2014: 292). This sudden change in Dor's material culture is a result of the arrival of Cypriot–Aegeans, or Tjeker. Late

12th century B.C. Dor, also included Egyptian pottery (Waiman-Barak *et al.* 2014: 339) which is consistent with the early 11th century B.C. Tale of Wenamun's Egyptian protagonist traveling to Dor.

1.2.4 Stratigraphy (per Zorea Model)

Per the Zorea Model, Dor's stratigraphy and chronology can be summarized as follows (Figure 9.7):

Area G Phase	***Area B1 Phase***	***Date (century B.C.)***	***Occupied by***	***Findings***	***Outcome***
11	n/a	c. 1200-1175	Sea Peoples/ Tjeker	- higher concentration of Aegeanized-ware from Cyprus (2 from Peloponnese) (e.g. commercial containers, kraters and bowls) - deep bowls and one-handled conical bowls (rare in Levant) - jar handle with incision of possible Cypro-Minoan sign	- Egyptians/ Sherden defeated Tjeker (Battle of Djahi)
		c. 1175-1130	**Abandoned**		
10 9	12	c. 1130-1050	Tjeker returned	- "Philistine-type" ware - ashlar harbor installations - trough-shaped clay installation	- city was renovated
Destruction layer		**(c. 1050)**			
8	11 10 9b	c. 1050-980	Tjeker	- bichrome pottery - continuation of Sea Peoples and local traditions	- conquered by Israelites
Conquest		**(c. 980)**			

Figure 9.7: Dor's stratigraphy and chronology (per Zorea Model)

2. Ein Hagit

Ein Hagit was a rural site located about 1 km north of Wadi Milek, the pass through the Carmel Mountains that linked coastal Dor with Yokneam and the Jezreel Valley. It is situated on an alternative path through the Carmel Ridge, crossing a rich agricultural valley (Artzy 1998: 76; Stern 2000b: 203). Ein Hagit, was excavated by Wolff (1995; 1998). Artzy (2006b: 76) wrote:

> "A route via the valleys in the Carmel Ridge (En Hagit), crossing Wadi Milh, makes it possible to leave Dor in the morning and be in Megiddo for a late lunch (Artzy 1998). The fish found at Megiddo (Lernau 2000: 475; Halpern 2000: 551) probably traveled by this route. They included Nile perch, which most probably arrived ready salted from Dor, where numerous examples of this fish were found (Raban-Gerstel 2006:59-60)."

2.1 Findings

Excavations in 1995 yielded a small Iron Age I agricultural farmstead with two well-preserved massive buildings (30 m x 20 m and 14 m x 13 m). The ceramic finds from Ein Hagit seem to parallel the assemblage at Dor (Stern 2000b: 204). Ceramic finds included a six handled krater, bichrome sherds, collared-rim-and-straight-shoulder storage jars, flanged-rim-and-straight-shoulder storage jars, flanged-rim cooking pots, and flasks (Stern 2000b: 203). Although Wolff assumed the sherds to be of Philistine origin (Stern 2000b: 203), they belong to a painted ware from sources other than Philistia (see Chapter 6: Tjeker and Part II: Introduction).

Non-ceramic finds included several basalt grinding stones, two limestone olive-press stones, and two bronze spearheads (Stern 2000b: 203). The large percent of pig-bone finds (20%) indicates that Ein Hagit's inhabitants consumed pork (Hesse and Wapnish 1997: 245). Although there was no sign of destruction (Wolff 1998: 452), archaeological evidence hints that the site was abandoned.

2.2 Zorea Model Applied

Ein Hagit's ceramic assemblage seem to parallel the late-12th/early-11th century B.C. assemblage in Dor (Stern 2000b: 204); Tell Keisan Stratum 9a-c (Wolff 1998; cf Briend and Humbert 1980: 197-206; figs. 51-52, 54) (see Chapter 8: Akko Bay and Valley); and various sites in the Jezreel Valley (see Chapter 10): Tell Yokneam Stratum XVII (Ben-Tor *et al*. 2005: 19, 22-27); Tell Qiri Stratum VIII (Ben-Tor and Portugali 1987: 80-86), and Megiddo Stratum VIA (Loud 1948: 37, fig. 83, Kempinski 1989: 83). Through personal communication with Wolff, Stern concluded that Ein Hagin contained Sikil material (Stern 2000b: 203).

Similarities were also noted between one of the Ein Hagit buildings and Megiddo building 2072 (Harrison 2004: 106), which itself was attributed to a "Philistine governor" (Kempinski 1989: 83).

The Ein Hagit building's position, size, sturdy construction and proximity to Dor and Megiddo indicate that it probable served as a warehouse for administrative, and maybe agricultural, interests. In other words, Ein Hagit was most likely beholden to economic interests of a larger trade network based on the area's agricultural nature; in this case, under Dor's Tjeker influence.

3. Other Carmel Ridge sites

Other nearby Carmel sites repeat the Zorea Model of the Tjeker in northern Canaan. A couple of these are described briefly below.

3.1 Tel Shikmona

Tel Shikmona was located on the sea coast near Haifa. It was excavated by J. Elgavish (Elgavish 1994) in the 1960s-1970s on behalf of the Haifa Municipality Museums Department. He attributed Strata 15/14/13 to the Iron Age I and Stratum 13 to the Sea Peoples (Stern 2000b: 204). Similar to Dor, the latest Sea Peoples stratum was destroyed by the Israelites (Elgavish 1994: 47).

3.2 Tel Nami

Tel Nami was located north of Dor and about 10 miles south of Haifa, near Kibutz Neve Yam. Nearby Tel Nami and the famous Carmel caves, there are rocks engraved with Sea Peoples ships, one of which is very reminiscent of the Sea Peoples boats on the Medinet Habu reliefs of Ramesses III (Artzy 1994). The international nature of the mariners frequenting the anchorage of Tel Nami was well represented by the different rituals which seem to have taken place in the sanctuary on the summit of the tell. There were remains of Canaanite, Syrian, Cypriot and Aegean cults (Artzy 1991; 1994; 2000).

Like in Akko, there are indications that Tel Nami was recycling bronze in the early 12th century B.C. (Artzy 2000: 28). Main findings included segments of bronze scrap ready for recycling (Artzy 1994: fig.5). Two pieces of rod tridents ready for recycling were also found corresponding to the late 13th or early 12th centuries B.C. (Artzy 2000: 27, pl. 1: 13-14). These are similar to parallels from the Cape Gelidonya shipwreck which is dated to a similar period (Bass 1967: fig. 119).

The c. 1200 B.C. metal objects from Tel Nami bear a close resemblance to those found in Ugarit (Artzy 2006b: 23). Tel Nami included a very large assemblage of bronze lamps (Artzy 1995: 27; Zioni 2005). The bronze oil lamps copy the prevalent shape of clay lamps of the period, although their shape is necessarily influenced by the technological limitations of their production.

Tel Nami did not survive long after the demise of Ugarit (first quarter of the 12th century B.C.). It was destroyed and left abandoned. Stern (2013: 18) claimed that Tel Nami was probably destroyed by the Sea Peoples.

4. Tel Zeror

Tel Zeror (Khirbet et-Tell Dhurur) is situated on the western fringe of the Sharon Plain (Kochavi 1993: 1525) some eight km east of the coast, and half km from the confluence of the Hadera River with two springs, Haviva and Iron (Artzy 2006b: 78). Tel Zeror is located on two hills connected by a saddle. Its importance in the Iron Age I resulted from its privileged location near the western branch of the Via Maris and access to Tell Jatt to the east.

In 1928 J. Garstang spent one day digging Tel Zeror (Stern 2013). Subsequent excavations started 34 years later when K. Ohata of the Japanese Society for Near Eastern Research traveled to Israel to launch an excavation project. It was directed by M. Kochavi (Hebrew University and later a member of the Tel Aviv University Department of Archaeology). Excavations continued through the 1960s and 1970s.

4.1 Findings[31]

4.1.1 Mound

Tel Zeror's Iron Age period included six strata between 1200 and 800 B.C. The slope in area C included an industrial area with various installations, ovens built of brick and furnaces for the smelting of copper. Some contained crucibles with traces of metal. There were also numerous nozzles of bellows. An unusual quantity of Cypriote pottery was found with the copper furnaces indicating that the raw material and maybe the coppersmiths themselves came from Cyprus (Kochavi 1965: 253-255).

Soon after, an update revealed additional information (Ohata and Kochavi 1966: 274-276). A stratum in area A was similar in nature to the one on the southern summit in area D where an Israelite settlement with stone buildings was found. While there is evidence that Israelites tried to populate Tel Zeror in the 12th century B.C. their presence was short-lived and their site was burned (Kochavi 1968a).

Above the Israelite debris, Sea Peoples built a fortified settlement with a kind of casemate wall, some five meters wide and made of very large well-laid light color sundried bricks. While no archaeological evidence has been reported to link 12th century B.C. Tel Zeror with the Tjeker, a nice 11th century B.C. fortress with large bricks was built on the northern top of the tell in area A (Kochavi 1968a; 1968b). The mud-brick construction is a feature typical of Megiddo VIA (Artzy 2006b: 79). The excavators collapsed the Tel Zeror's Iron I strata XII and XI into one stratum (Ahlstrom 1993: 301) and dated it from the mid-12th to early-11th century B.C. (Ohata 1970: 3, 13). T. Dothan (1982a: 71) assigned stratum XI-X to the Sea Peoples.

In the stratum dated to the first half of the 10th century B.C. a store house was found containing about twenty crushed storage jars. At the time of King David (beginning of the 10th century B.C.), the Israelites defeated the Sea Peoples (including the Tjeker) and controlled the Sharon Plain.

4.1.2 Cemetery

About 150 m west of the mound was a cemetery from the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age transition. It included burials in large storage-jars and pithoi (see Chapter 12: Jordan and Arabah

[31] This information was retrieved from the notes published by the excavators. Their chronology is not clearly described and there is no reference to support the chronology they selected to determine the Bronze or Iron Ages.

Valleys: Tell es-Sa'idiyeh). The most elaborate tombs were the cist-graves. Nine large cist-type graves were built of stone and covered with large stone slabs and date from the 11th and early 10th centuries B.C. (Kochavi 1968a: 128-130) (for other cist tombs, see also Chapter 7: Cyprus and Ugarit, and Chapter 8: Akko Bay and Valley).

These family tombs were dug in a southeast direction, the bodies were laid in a supine position with the head pointing northwest, and they were rich in offerings (Kochavi 1993: 1525).

4.2 Interpretations

Given the findings in the industrial site, the coppersmiths themselves may have come from Cyprus (Kochavi 1965: 254). The well-built 11th century B.C. citadel and contemporary cemetery may have belonged to the Tjeker (Sikil) whose capital of Dor was about 12.5 miles to the north (Kochavi 1968a: 128-130; 1993: 1524-1526). In contrast, others thought the 11th century B.C. site was resettled by Phoenicians (Artzy 2006b: 79):

> "Kochavi considers it possible that the 11th century citadel and the cist graves belong to the Sikil; and his suggestion is taken one step further by E. Mazar (2001: 157), who attributes the early cist graves to the same people who settled at Achziv. However, with the new data originating from the excavation at Dor (see above), it seems highly likely that –even if there is an element of «Sikil»– it is the Phoenicians, rather than the «Sea Peoples» or Philistines, who should be considered responsible for the renewed settlement at Tel Zeror."

4.3 Zorea Model Applied

4.3.1 Tjeker parallels

Based on Kochavi's reports (1993: 1525), Tel Zeror included locally-made ceramics of Cypriot character similar to the Dor phenomenon. Three 12th–11th century B.C. pithoi contained burials and burial offerings including lamps with pinched as well as completely closed spouts, bronze objects including hemispheric bowls, bronze and iron weapons and beads and figurines that represent an advanced material culture in comparison with the prior Israelite site. Unfortunately, there is no detail reporting either in Hebrew or English about these findings (Ohata 1967). A lion-headed rhyton was discovered similar to finds in Dor, Tell es-Safi, Tell Jerishe, Tell Qasile and Megiddo (Dothan, T. 1982a: 229-233) (Figure 9.8).

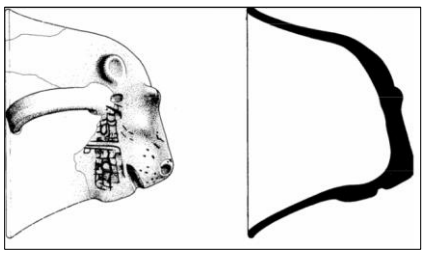


Figure 9.8: Lion-headed rhyton from Tel Zeror (after Dothan, T. 1982a)

4.3.2 Analysis

In line with Kochavi's (see §4.2 above) suggestion that Tel Zeror's coppersmiths may have come from Cyprus, it makes sense that the Tjeker brought along their own metallurgists. The sudden appearance of Cypriot type ceramics manufactured with local materials in late 12th century B.C. Dor and Tel Zeror support the migration of Cypriot Tjeker back to Canaan.

Like in so many other sites in northern Canaan, the chronology and pattern of evidence of the Zorea Model (see Chapter 6: Tjeker) seems to repeat itself once again in Tel Zeror. The Tjeker were present in early 12th century B.C. Tel Zeror. After their loss to the Egyptians/Sherden in the Battle of Djahi c. 1175 BC, the site remained abandoned for half a century. Around 1130 B.C., Tjeker returned with their Cypriot-Tjeker ceramics and metallurgists.

They built cist graves that had parallels in sites visited by Aegeans (i.e. Enkomi, Ugarit and Tell Farah south). The Tjeker in Tel Zeror developed and manufactured novel and sophisticated products that reflected their advanced technologies previously not existent in the region.

4.3.3 Stratigraphy (per Zorea Model)

Based on the excavators' reports, the Zorea Model estimates Tel Zeror's stratigraphic chronology as follows (Figure 9.9):

Stratum	***Dating (B.C.)***	***Occupied by***	***Outcome***
	Early 12th century	Israelites	- Burned by Sea Peoples (Tjeker)
12	Early 12th century	Tjeker	- Defeated and abandoned by Egyptians (Battle of Djahi)
n/a	c. 1175-1130	n/a	
11	c. 1130 – 11th century	Tjeker	- Tjeker returned to Canaan
10	11th century – c.980	Tjeker	- Citadel (casemate wall) - Destroyed and resettled by Israelites (King David)

Figure 9.9: Tel Zeror's stratigraphy and chronology (per Zorea Model) (after the excavators' reports)

5. Tell Jatt

An historical, archaeological and petrographic study of El Amarna tablets *EA* 264-266 (Alt 1925: 48 n.3) confirmed that Tell Jatt was ancient Ginti-kirmil (Goren *et al.* 2004: 257). It was located southeast of nearby Dor and Tel Zeror, northeast of current Hadera, southwest of

Umm-al-Fahm, about 6 miles east of the Mediterranean coast, with the arable Sharon Plain on its west and the Samarian Hills on its east.

A Tell Jatt cave was discovered in the early 1990s which included many bronze objects, weapons, tools, weights, utilitarian and cultic vessels, a group of ceramics and a bone object. This was most likely a burial cave (Artzy 2006b: 95).

Artzy thought the Tell Jatt metal hoard was Phoenician (2006b: 97):

> "The Jatt metal hoard provides one of the earliest signs of Phoenician activity in the area of modern northern Israel. Their commercial interests start well before the period of the United Monarchy and take in areas well beyond their immediate homeland in modern Lebanon. The contents of the hoard should be viewed as a continuation of the Late Bronze Age bronze-working koine characteristic of the triangle formed by the northern coast of the Levant and Cyprus. At the same time, they indicate the changes brought about both in the Levant and in Cyprus, areas where Phoenician interests were clearly present, over the period between the early 12th and the 11th centuries BCE."

In contrast, I propose that attributing this hoard to the Tjeker is even more compelling as discussed below.

5.1 Berzocana-type bowls

Several of the bronze objects unearthed in Tell Jatt include Berzocana-type bowls. They are very similar in geometry and metallurgic characteristics to the one found in Berzocana, Cáceres (see Appendix: Bronze Bowl of Berzocana; Zorea 2018b).

Tell Jatt's Berzocana-type bowls were labeled "Curved bowls": J39, J70, J38, J36 and J37 and "Curved bowls with discoid base and curved rim." (Artzy 2006b: 28). Metallurgic studies confirm that the $11^{th}/10^{th}$ century B.C. bowl of Berzocana was manufactured with Feynan copper (Jonathan Wood 2018: personal communication; Wood *et al.* 2020: 6-8), just like other bowls and bronze objects unearthed in Tell Jatt (Artzy 2006b: 84).

Berzocana-type bowls are considered to be Aegean (Zorea 2018b), and were most often found in burial sites. They are considered to be one of the components of wine-sets (see Chapter 12: Jordan and Arabah Valleys: Tell es-Sa'idiyeh).

5.2 Tjeker parallels

Typological analysis dated Tell Jatt's ceramics to the 11^{th} century B.C., using the high chronology (Artzy 2006b: 28-30 figs. 2.1:6-11 and 2.2:1-2, 55-46, pls. II-III) and was contemporary to Megiddo stratum VIA; Tell Keisan stratum X-IXC; and Tell Qasile stratum X (Artzy 2006b: 95).

All of these locations have shown evidence of a Tjeker presence. Objects in Tell Jatt with similar stylistic characteristics to those found in Megiddo, Tel Zeror and Achziv were all likely made with Feynan copper (Artzy 2006b: 86). Double axes found in Tell Jatt are comparable to

those of Megiddo VIA. Negbi (1991: 237) wrote: "The Aegean affinities of the Megiddo double axes are indisputable."

A similar double-ax was also found in a 11th century B.C. Achziv cist grave (Miron 1985: 125, No 304; Artzy 2006b: 79). Miron's study (1985: 127-129) proved that these double axes are typologically related to the oval-shafted variant used in the eastern Aegean, rather than to the round-shafted Cretan originals. Five other double-axes found in Tell Qasile and Megiddo dated from the mid-12th to late 11th centuries B.C.

Bronze spearheads with rounded shape and prominent midrib found in Tell Jatt were also identified in Megiddo, Achziv and Tel Zeror (Artzy 2006b: 79-80).

Many objects found in the Jatt hoard show similarities to those from Achziv, Keisan, and Akko (Artzy 2006b: 80).

5.3 Analysis

The 11th century B.C. silver hoard of Tell Keisan (see Chapter 8: Akko Bay and Valley) likely came from Iberia (Wood *et al.* 2019), which means "the Phoenicians may not have been the protagonists in these earliest exchanges".

That the bowl of Berzocana and its parallels in Tell Jatt correspond to the 11th century B.C. and an Aegean burial tradition again makes it unlikely that Phoenicians got the bowl of Berzocana to Iberia. If not the Phoenicians, then who? Berzocana-type bowls found in Cypriot tombs followed the migration patterns of the Aegean-Tjeker. Some correspond to the Tjeker's arrival following the palatial crisis of the late 13th century B.C., and others date to the Tjeker's expulsion from northern Canaan by the Israelites c. 980 B.C.

Based on the comparative data of parallel objects between Tell Jatt and other northern Canaan sites (i.e. Tel Zeror, Achziv, Megiddo, Tell Keisan, Akko and Tell Qasile), Tell Jatt was likely a Tjeker burial site. The abundance of Berzocana-type bowls (see Appendix: Bronze Bowl of Berzocana) and the echoes of the Zorea Model further reinforce this conclusion.

6. Tell Qasile

Tell Qasile is situated about 150 meters from the northern bank of the Yarkon River, and some 2 km from the Mediterranean coast. It was excavated in the 1950s by Benjamin Mazar (Maisler) for the Israeli Exploration Society (Maisler [Mazar] 1950-51a; 1950-51b; Dothan and Dunayevsky 1993: 1204-1207), and in the 1970s by Amihai Mazar (Mazar, A. 1980; 1985a).

6.1 Strata and findings

Strata XII, XI and X are attributed to the 12th–10th centuries B.C. Stratum XII's temple, the earliest and smallest of these, was constructed of mudbrick, unlike its expanded versions in

the two subsequent strata (Artzy 2006b: 79). Area A included two Iron I strata, XII and XI, which included Philistine objects. Area C included a cultic area with a series of temples.

Stratum XII included an iron knife with two copper alloy rivets and an ivory handle (Mazar, A. 1985a: 7). Stratum XI included numerous objects with Philistine motifs such as zoomorphic and anthropomorphic shapes (Mazar, A. 1993: 1208). There were "notable differences between the assemblages of strata XII and XI pointing out that there is some deterioration in the ceramics of stratum XI" (Artzy 2006b: 79).

Stratum X has a pattern of orthogonal urban planning which may reflect a Cypriot influence (Mazar, A. 1985a). Stratum X also included a four-room house. Whereas strata XII and XI included Philistine objects, stratum X included vessels from the northern coastal area and objects from Cyprus. Stratum X included an 11th century B.C. small ivory bowl. It also included ceramics such as red-slipped hand-burnished vessels (Artzy 2006b: 79). No painted Philistine pottery was found in cultic area C (Mazar, A. 1985a: 123). In other words, Tell Qasile was experiencing some influx of a different population.

6.2 Zorea Model Applied

Although there is ample consensus about when Tell Qasile was founded (subsequent to the Philistine conquest of Philistia), there is less agreement about its demographic changes during the 11th and 10th centuries B.C. (Artzy 2006b: 79). Some indicate that it was a Philistine stronghold; others emphasize a Canaanite presence; while others refer to the Phoenicians as probable settlers (Artzy 2006b: 79-80).

Both pottery and metal findings help confirm that during the 11th century B.C. there was heavy interaction between Tell Qasile with the north. This supports the idea that there may have been an expansion of the "Northern Sea Peoples" south towards the Yarkon River. Stern concluded that "Qasile was established in our opinion as a common settlement of both Philistines and Northern Sea Peoples" as well as that Tell Qasile and other neighboring sites along the Yarkon probably had a mixed population of southern and Northern Sea Peoples (Stern 2013: 63-64).

6.2.1 Tjeker parallels

Tell Qasile stratum X's small ivory bowl is similar to ones found in Tell Jatt (Artzy 2006b: J-91, fig 2.16, pl. 25:5), Megiddo (Loud 1948: pl. 200:2), Tel Dan (Biran and Ben Dov 2002: fig. 2.103), Tell es-Sa'diyeh (Pritchard 1968: 106, fig. 2:8), and Kition Tomb 9 (Peltenberg 1974: 110, pls. 88:230, 163: 230).

According to A. Mazar (1985a) the closest parallels of a double axe found in Tell Qasile stratum X are the 11th century B.C. finds in Megiddo (Harrison 2004), Achziv (Prausnitz 1993) and Tell Jatt (Artzy 2006b: 62, pl.14-2) (Figure 9.10).

Figure 9.10: Tell Jatt double axe similar to the one found in Tell Qasile stratum X (after Artzy 2006b)

Tell Qasile's red-slipped hand burnished vessels were made of similar fabric to that of the strainer jug from the Jatt hoard. A. Mazar (1985a: 5-6) emphasized the strong metal-works connections between Tell Qasile and Cyprus during the 12th and 11th centuries B.C. He compared some of the metal finds in Tell Qasile (Building Q's furnace, Area A) with objects found in Cyprus and postulated that the copper came from Cyprus to Tell Qasile. He also suggested that groups of metalworkers migrated from Cyprus to Tell Qasile and the plains of Canaan.

6.2.2 Analysis

According to the Zorea Model, "Northern Sea Peoples" are synonymous with the Tjeker. In other words, whereas Tell Qasile was built by the southern Philistines from scratch, it probably converted into a boundary-site common to both southern Philistines and northern Tjeker. Why did the Tjeker reach Tell Qasile? Around the time Tjeker rebuilt Dor c. 1050 B.C. they expanded to other sites farther south, including Tell Qasile and possibly Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (see Chapter 12: Jordan and Arabah Valleys).

Chapter 10: Jezreel Valley

The Jezreel Valley is a large fertile plain in northern Israel, bordered to the north by the highlands of the Lower Galilee, to the south by the Samarian highlands, to the west and northwest by the Mount Carmel range and to the east by the Jordan Valley (Figure 10.1). According to Stern (2006: 387), the Sea Peoples strata at Dor "yielded ceramic finds that were, in my opinion, peculiar to the Sikils. Similar finds were to come from Akko, Tell, Keisan, Megiddo, Jokneam, and the entire western part of the Jezreel Valley, up to the site of modern Afula. This pottery is unique to the northern Sea Peoples…" This chapter further explores some of that archaeological evidence in the Jezreel Valley as it relates to the Tjeker.

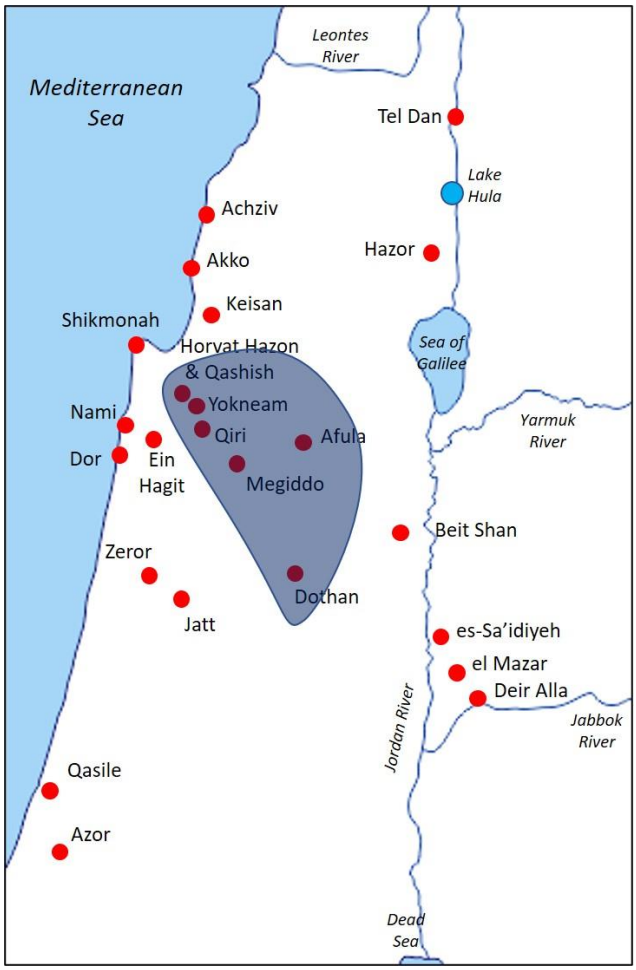


Figure 10.1: Map of northern Canaan, esp. Jezreel Valley

1. Megiddo

Megiddo (Hebrew: *Tel Megiddo*, Arabic: *Tell al-Mutesellim*, Greek: *Armageddon*) is considered one of the most important cities in biblical times (first mentioned in Joshua 12:21)

and is known for its historical, geographical, and theological importance. It is located on a hill overlooking the fertile Jezreel Valley, about 30 km southeast of the coastal city of Haifa, accessible to the sea via Wadi Milh or via 50 km of the Wadi ‘Ara/Nahal Iron (Lernau 2000: 475).

Megiddo was of great strategic importance as part of the coastal plain’s International Highway (Via Maris) which linked Egypt to Damascus and Mesopotamia. The first written reference to Megiddo includes a detailed account of Pharaoh Thutmose III’s (r. 1479–1425 B.C.) invasion and conquest of the Canaanite city. In the 14th century B.C. Amarna period, Megiddo’s mayor Biridiya authored numerous letters (*EA* 242-247 and *EA* 365) to the pharaoh of Egypt. *EA* 244, for example, noted the Labaya threatened to capture Megiddo, while *EA* 365 dealt with harvesting crops by using forced labor.

Over a hundred years of excavations at Megiddo have unearthed twenty-six layers of ruins, and indicate a long period of settlements. The site was first excavated by G. Schumacher in 1903-1905 (Schumacher 1908), followed by the Chicago Oriental Institute in 1925-1939 (Lamon and Shipton 1939; Loud 1948; Harrison 2004). Y. Yadin resumed work in 1960 (Zarzecki-Peleg 2016). Tel Aviv University continued the effort in 1992 and 1994 (Ussishkin 1995: 240-267) and biannual expeditions have continued thereafter under the direction of Finkelstein, Ussishkin and Halpern (Finkelstein *et al*. 2000; 2006; 2013).

1.1 Findings

1.1.1 Stratum VII

Mortimer Wheeler (1955: 112) recalled his visit to Canaan in 1936:

> “It will suffice to say this: that from the Sinai border to Megiddo and on to Byblos and Northern Syria, I encountered such technical standards as had not been tolerated in Great Britain for a quarter of a century. With rare and partial exceptions, the methods of discovery and record were of a kind which, at home, the Office of Works would have stopped by telegram. The scientific analysis of stratification, upon which modern excavation is largely based, was almost non-existent. And the work was being carried out upon a lavish and proportionately destructive scale.”

Davies (1986b: 34) wrote:

> “The difficulties in evaluating the evidence from Megiddo are well-known to archaeologists. They arise in part from the fact that some important discoveries were made at the beginning of the 20th century, when Palestinian archaeology was in its infancy and partly from the much-criticized methods and final reports of the Chicago Expedition which worked at the site between 1925 and 1939.”

Singer (1988/1989: 101) added:

> “This working method faces at Megiddo serious difficulties, since quite often the stratigraphic classification of the finds has not been established with sufficient accuracy, particularly in the case of graves dug into *habitation levels*.”

That being said, subsequent excavations and analyses have helped put in order some of the confusion, especially regarding stratum VII and the Egyptian findings. Megiddo experienced an abrupt destruction between strata VIIA and VIB, and some areas included debris that was four feet deep (Finkelstein and Ussishkin 1994). Two finds with hieroglyphic inscriptions helped date the final years of stratum VIIA.

The first was found on an ivory pen case 35 cm long (Loud 1948: no. 377; Davies 1986a: 37), in an ivory hoard recovered from the "Treasury" (Building 3073) in the underground cellar (locus 3073). It bears the cartouche of Ramesses III (c. 1182–1151 B.C.).

The second inscription was found on a bronze statue base, inscribed with the cartouche of Ramesses VI (c. 1141–1133 B.C.) (Harrison 2004: 107). Although excavators originally assigned the statue base to stratum VIIB, it was almost certainly deposited just prior to stratum VIIA's destruction (Harrison 2004:107).

1.1.2 Stratum VI

1.1.2.1 Construction materials and methods

Halpern (2000: 553-554) identified a major change in construction methodology between stratum VII's use of large stones and stratum VI's use of mud-bricks despite the plentiful supply of stones; he observed:

> "Schumacher also reports, (and subsequent excavations have confirmed) a heavy association of thick timbers with the destruction layer of Stratum VIA. As the mound as a whole seems to have been covered with mud-brick construction, the concentration of timbers … must be understood as a construction element, as beams and joists for second stories…"
>
> "The width of the wood beams is substantial. The mud-bricks are regular and large. Like the timbers, the material for the bricks of which the entire town was made was likely hauled up onto the site from a nearby stream-bed, a highly laborious undertaking when the stone, including among other things the huge basalt blocks, of the LB palaces and northern gate lay to hand."

Harrison (2004: 105-107) focused on stratum VI's construction, especially building 2072, which he observed was not a carry-over from stratum VIIA. Wolff (1998: 450-52, figs. 1-2) emphasized similarities between Megiddo stratum VIA's building 2072 and other buildings in northern Canaan like Tel Hagit (Harrison 2004: 18), a cluster of buildings in Tell Keisan stratum 9a-c (Briend and Humbert 1980: 197-206; figs. 51-52, 54), the "Oil Maker's House" (structure 3035) in Yokneam stratum XVII (Ben-Tor *et al*. 2005: 19, 22-27), and possibly a number of buildings in Tell Qiri stratum VIII Area D (Ben-Tor and Portugali 1987: 80-86).

1.1.2.2 Bronze objects

Schumacher (1908: 84-86) identified a metal hoard of five incense stands, metal tools and a knife in a layer that was constructed of mudbrick and wood. The layer and objects have been

assigned to stratum VIA (Artzy 2006b: 73; cf Davies 1986: 72, Ussishkin 1992: 673, Halpern 2000: 553).

The University of Chicago excavations found another hoard in area CC, Locus 1739 (Loud 1948: fig. 410) also from stratum VI (Loud 1948: pls. 189-190). It included tools, bronze bowls, a strainer, jugs, a bowl with three holes, part of an incense burner, an axe head and spearheads. Many of these items are comparable with findings in Achziv tomb 1029 (see Chapter 8: Akko Bay and Valley) as well as the Tell Jatt hoards (see Chapter 9: Dor, Carmel Ridge and Sharon Plain) (Artzy 2006b: 73). Yahalom-Mack *et al.* (2017: 67-68) favored Gershuny's (1985: 41-42) attributing the Locus 1739 hoard to stratum VIB rather than Negbi's (1974: 167) attributing it to stratum VIA.

1.1.2.3 Non-bronze objects

The Hebrew University excavations identified another 11th or early-10th century B.C. hoard in stratum VIA (Yadin 1970: 93; Yadin, Shiloh and Eitan 1972: 163). It included ivory objects (Loud 1948: pl. 200:2), beads, semi-precious stones, a stand and weights. Ivory objects were found in other locations including: a small 11th century B.C. ivory bowl in Tell Qasile stratum X, similar to ones found in Tell Jatt (Artzy 2006b: J-91, fig. 2.16, pl. 25:5), Tel Dan (Biran and Ben Dov 2002: fig. 2.103), Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Pritchard 1968:106, fig. 2:8), as well as Kition Tomb 9 (Peltenberg 1974: 110, pls. 88:230, 163:230).

1.1.2.4 Pottery

Megiddo has produced only a small amount of Philistine pottery (Mazar, A. 2002: 273; Finkelstein *et al.* 2017: 274) (Figure 10.2). Pottery finds included a lioness-shaped rhyton with parallels in Dor (the Tjeker capital) (Stern 2006: 387, fig. 1.a) (Figure 10.3) and Tel Zeror (Stern 2000b: 205).

Figure 10.2: "Philistine" pottery from 11th century B.C. Megiddo (after Finkelstein *et al.* 2014)

Figure 10.3: Lion rhyton fragment from Tel Dor (after Stern 2006)

1.2 Interpretations

According to Maisler (Mazar) (1951a: 23) and A. Mazar (1985), Late Bronze Age Megiddo was a Canaanite city, and its transition from stratum VIIB to VIIA was likely contemporary with the arrival of the Sea Peoples c. Ramesses III's Year 8. In a slightly different perspective, Finkelstein *et al.* (2017: 277) suggested a turnover c. 1200 B.C. as representing a transition between the Egyptian 19th and 20th Dynasties.

T. Dothan (1982a: 79) wrote that "the greatest concentration of Philistine ware is found in stratum VIIA" and that Philistines did not settle in Megiddo. In contrast, A. Mazar (1985: 95-97) reasoned that the "Philistine" wares that Dothan attributed to stratum VIIA actually belonged to stratum VI. Stratum VI represents the initial Iron Age (or Iron I) settlement (Bloch-Smith and Nakhai 1999: 79). Discussions and controversies have also emerged regarding when strata VIB/VIA transitioned. T. Dothan (1982a) proposed that stratum VIB dated between c. 1150-1050 B.C. and stratum VIA between c. 1050-1000 B.C. Davies (1986) claimed that stratum VIB contained a short-lived village and disagreed conceptually that stratum VIB be twice as long as stratum VIA.

Controversy surrounding Canaan's chronology arose when I. Finkelstein adopted a Low Chronology which lowered the traditional dates by seventy years (Finkelstein 1996b, 1996c, 2005, 2006 and 2009). In his opinion, Megiddo strata VIIA to III did not serve as a reliable chronological peg for the time between Ramesses III and the Assyrian Kings' 8th century B.C. campaigns. He ascribed Megiddo stratum VIB to the 11th century B.C. and stratum VIA to the middle of the 10th century B.C., ending in destruction with Shishak's campaign in 925 B.C.

Finkelstein's views were challenged by many scholars such as A. Mazar (1997b; 2005; 2007: 86), Mazar and Bronk Ramsey (2008) and Singer-Avitz (2009). Ben-Tor and Zarzecki-Peleg (1997a, 1997b, 2005) correlated the Megiddo findings with those at Tell Qiri, Yokneam, and Tel Qashish and dated both strata VIB and VIA to the 11th century B.C. In 2006 Arie concluded that the "Philistine" ceramics were confined to stratum VI (both phases) and completely rejected Finkelstein's assumption to distinguish between pure "Philistine" pottery (VIB) from "degenerate pottery" (VIA) (Arie 2006: 222-223). Finkelstein later rejected his own theory that attributed the 10th century B.C. destruction to Shishak (Finkelstein and Piasetzky

2009). Using high-resolution carbon dating, Toffolo *et al.* (2014: 236) dated Megiddo strata VIB–VIA from early to late Iron Age I c. 1060–985 B.C. but without any firm delineation between the two.

Regardless of chronology, Iron I Megiddo served as a neutral mercantile settlement and trading intermediary for cereals, fish (likely from Dor), olive-oil and wine (as testified by numerous pithoi found in areas CC, F and K) (Gal 2011: 141 cf Harrison 2004: 108; Artzy 2006b: 75 cf Halpern 2000: 554). There was some kind of commercial relationship between agricultural Megiddo and coastal Dor (see also Chapter 9: Dor, Carmel Ridge and Sharon Plain).

1.2.1 Stratigraphy

Megiddo's LBA to early IA strata can be summarized as follows (Figure 10.4):

Stratum	***Findings***	***Dothan, T. (1982a: 72-74)***	***Maisler (Mazar) (1951a: 23); Mazar, A. (1985: 95-97)***	***Stern (2013: 16)***	***Finkelstein and Piasetzky (2006a); Finkelstein (2009); Toffolo et al. (2014); Finkelstein et al. (2017: 277)***
VIIB			Canaanite	Before – c. 1200	Egyptian 19th Dynasty
Destruction			**Ramesses III Yr 8**	**c. 1200**	**c. 1200 Level K8**
VIIA	- Stone construction	1st half 12th cent "Philistine Bichrome" sherds	- Egyptian-ruled Canaanite city - No Philistine pottery	c. 1200-1130	Late Bronze III Egyptian 20th Dynasty
Destruction		**c. 1150**	**c. 1140**	**c. 1130**	**c. late 12th Level K6** **c. mid-11th Level H-11**
VIB	- Non-ostentatious mud-brick and timber-pillared construction; no public works - Canaanite jars	c. 1150-1050	"Philistine Bichrome"	c. 1130-1100 (unoccupied) c. 1100-1050	Early Iron I c. 1060-
VIA	- large settlement ("Palace", Building 2072) - Aegean finds - Bronze-works	c. 1050-1000	"Philistine"	c. 1050-980	Late Iron I - c. 985
Destruction		**c. 1000**	**c. 1000**	**c. 980**	**mid-10th**
VB	- new construction	c. 1000 onward		c. 980 onward	

Figure 10.4: Stratigraphy and chronology of Megiddo (after several archaeologists)

1.2.2 Who inhabited stratum VI?

Harrison (2004: 107) observed that while Megiddo stratum VIIA belonged to an Egyptian stronghold, stratum VIB shifted in function and character. According to Halpern (2000: 554), the special construction of Megiddo stratum VI lacked the signs of an overbearing elite, since it had no great public works and no palaces or temple compounds:

> "The choice of mud-brick as an idiom of construction may represent a rejection of the palace architecture of the LB. Stratum VI appears to reflect in sum a social prejudice against display. It in effect conceals its wealth in pedestrian forms of storage in distribution throughout the site."

Stratum VI is less ostentatious. Its lack of palaces or temple compounds reflects the new inhabitants' belief in a distributed economic system in which they self-determined their destiny, and not one dependent on a central government-system or a strong religious devotion.

As far as who inhabited Megiddo stratum VI, A. Mazar (Stern 2013: 20, cf Mazar, A. 2002: 275-276) classified the subject as very challenging. It seems unlikely that the Egyptians, who just lost their garrison, would reoccupy the site. Theoretically, it may have been inhabited by one of the Sea Peoples groups who destroyed the Egyptian garrison, another local group, or some combination thereof.

Kempinski (1989: 82-83, 126; 1992) noted that stratum VI's building construction used wooden pillars. He ascribed the use of mud-bricks and wood to a probable European tradition and attributed it to the Philistines.

Albright (1936: 26-31; 1937: 22-27) credited the beginning of stratum VI to an Israelite victory in the Jezreel Valley against a Canaanite coalition "by the waters of Megiddo" (Judges 5:19, "Song of Deborah") in c. 1125 B.C. Halpern (2000: 553-554), after Esse (1992: 96-102), pointed to the large number of collared-rim jars in Area CC as a possible indicator of trade and intermarriage with the hill population to the south. He also saw Megiddo VI's pillared houses as evidence of contact with the hills, despite the fact that the pillars were of timber.

Some of the ceramics found in Megiddo VI followed the Canaanite tradition (Aharoni 1970: 265). According to Engber (1940: 4-9) and Finkestein (2003: 77) Megiddo VIA was a Canaanite city.

Others (Stern 2000b: 206; 2013: 20 cf Lamon and Shipton 1939; Loud 1948) claimed that Megiddo was the main regional settlement of the Sea Peoples. Stern (2000: 205) emphasized the fact Megiddo included the usual "Philistine vessels" as well as a lioness-shaped rhyton, which has strong parallels in Dor and Tel Zeror. Ben-Shlomo (2008b: 34) noted that while lion-headed cups are known from Late Bronze Age Ugarit, zoomorphic head-shaped cups with Philistine Bichrome decoration have been found in several Iron I sites, like Dor (Stern 2006: 387, fig. 1:a), Tell Gerishe, Megiddo, Tell Qasile, Tell es-Safi and Tel Zeror (Mazar, A. 1980: 101-103; Dothan, T. 1982a: 229-234; Zevulun 1987). These have been associated with the Sea Peoples because such cups and rhyta appear in the Mycenaean and Minoan works (Marinatos and Hirmer 1960: pl. 175; Koehl 1981).

Stern (2000b: 206) claimed that stratum VIB was a Sea Peoples stronghold and that VIA may have been a Phoenician-influenced Sea Peoples town or a Phoenician town. According to A. Mazar (1994: 41-42) Megiddo may have included a Sikil (or Tjeker) presence and they may have even gained control of the city (see also §1.3.1 below).

1.2.3 Who destroyed stratum VI?

Ever since its identification, there has been considerable debate and speculation about what or who destroyed stratum VI and when. On the one hand, some scholars suggested natural causes like an earthquake. Others believed it was more military in nature. Several theories have been developed over the past century (Figure 10.5) and are discussed farther below.

Author	***Year***	***Period (B.C.)***	***Occupied by***	***Destroyed by***
Watzinger	1929			Sheshonq I
Albright	1936	c. 1125 – mid-11th century	Israelites (Song of Deborah)	Philistine expansion northward
Engberg	1940	c. 1100		Natural causes; LBA Canaanite connection
Simons	1942	Early 10th century		King David
Alt	1944	Early 10th century		King David
Maisler (Mazar)	1951a	Early 10th century		King David
Mayes	1969	Early 10th century		King David
Aharoni	1970	c. 980		King David
Dothan, T.	1982a	c. 1150-1000	Canaanites	King David
Davies	1986b	c. 1140-1000	Egyptians (garrison)	King David
Kempinski	1989	mid-11th century		Earthquake
Esse	1992	Early 10th century		King David
Singer	1994	Early 10th century		King David
Halpern	2000	Early 10th century		King David
Mazar, A.	2002	Early 10th century		King David
Harrison	2004	c. 1130-970	Philistines	King David
Finkelstein	2009	c. 1130 - mid-10th cent.	Canaanites	Highland Israelites

Figure 10.5: Various theories about the chronology of Megiddo's stratum VI destruction

Watzinger (1929: 56–59) attributed the final devastation to the campaign of Sheshonq I, while Albright dated stratum VI's destruction c. mid-11th century B.C. (c. 1050 B.C.) or later, presumably a result of Philistines expanding northward (Albright 1936: 26-31; 1937: 22-27).

The staff of the Oriental Institute Expedition disputed Albright's characterization and dating of the stratum. They highlighted the site as a Canaanite Late Bronze Age settlement while attributing its violent end to natural causes, possibly an earthquake, towards the late 12th century B.C. (Harrison 2004: 12, cf Engberg 1940: 4-7).

Kempinski (1989: 89-90) strongly related the pottery finds with the Philistine culture of the first half 11th century B.C. and attributed the destruction to a mid-11th century B.C. earthquake. He also referred to pottery synchronization and linked Megiddo strata VIB and VIA with Tell Qassile strata XI and X respectively.

This synchronization of Tell Qasile X with Megiddo VIA was previously proposed by Maisler (Mazar) (1950-51a). Kempinski accepted the fact that the destruction of Sea Peoples urban centers occurred simultaneously and extended from Tel Masos in the Northern Negev to Tell Keisan in the Akko Valley but considered these facts a result of a larger catastrophe and not a result of military action.

Aharoni (1970: 263-265) believed that Megiddo fell into Israelite hands when King David destroyed it and Simons (1942: 41) claimed that the first positive indication of Israelite control was under King Solomon in c. mid-10th century B.C. Biblical narratives mention that King David reigned over Jezreel and all Israel (II Samuel 2:8-9), and that King Solomon taxed Megiddo (I Kings 4:12) and built its wall (I Kings 9:15).

II Samuel 2:8-9

9 And he made him king over Gilead and over the Ashurites and over Jezreel, and over Ephraim, and over Benjamin, and over all Israel.

ט וַיַּמְלִכֵהוּ אֶל־הַגִּלְעָד וְאֶל־הָאַשׁוּרִי וְאֶל־יִזְרְעֶאל
וְעַל־אֶפְרַיִם וְעַל־בִּנְיָמִן וְעַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל כֻּלֹּה׃

I Kings 4:12

12 Baana the son of Ahilud, (to him pertained) Taanach and Megiddo, and all Beth-shean which is beside Zarethana beneath Jezreel, from Beth-shean to Abel-mechola, as far as beyond Jokmeam.

יב בַּעֲנָא בֶן־אֲחִילוּד תַּעְנַךְ וּמְגִדּוֹ וְכָל־בֵּית שְׁאָן
אֲשֶׁר אֵצֶל צָרְתָנָה מִתַּחַת לְיִזְרְעֶאל מִבֵּית שְׁאָן עַד
אָבֵל מְחוֹלָה עַד מֵעֵבֶר לְיָקְמְעָם׃

I Kings 9:1

15 And this is the matter of the tax levy which king Solomon raised; to build the Temple of the Lord, and his own house and the Millo, and the wall of Jerusalem and Hazor and Megiddo and Gezer.

טו וְזֶה דְבַר־הַמַּס אֲשֶׁר־הֶעֱלָה | הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה לִבְנוֹת
אֶת־בֵּית יְהוָה וְאֶת־בֵּיתוֹ וְאֶת־הַמִּלּוֹא וְאֵת חוֹמַת
יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם וְאֶת־חָצֹר וְאֶת־מְגִדּוֹ וְאֶת־גָּזֶר׃

Radiocarbon tests from the Tel Aviv University excavations suggest a destruction date in the early 10th century B.C. (Carmi and Dor 2000: 502-03) or mid-10th century B.C. (Toffolo *et al.* 2014: 236) and reinforce that most of stratum VI occurred during the 11th century B.C. Harrison (2004: 108) dismissed the natural disaster theory and accepted Mazar's military intervention theory.

1.3 Zorea Model Applied

1.3.1 Who inhabited stratum VI?

Megiddo's painted wares which T. Dothan (1982a: 79-80) had ascribed as a type of "Philistine ware", A. Mazar (2002: 274) ascribed to the wider tradition of painted wares in the northern valleys and coastal areas and not as Philistine. As discussed in Part II: Introduction, the

Philistine Bichrome in northern Canaan belonged to the Tjeker. The Zorea Model supports A. Mazar's interpretation (1994: 41-42) which places the Tjeker in Megiddo after c. 1130 B.C.

Harrison (2004: 107) indicated that stratum VI pottery belonged to a regionally defined ceramic horizon of the Late Iron I period. Sites with similar assemblages include Tell Abu Hawam stratum IV, Tell Keisan stratum 9a–c, Yokneam stratum XVII, Tell Qiri stratum VIII, Afula stratum IIIA, Beth Shean S-2 [= Upper VI], Hazor stratum XI, En Hagit and Ramat Hanadiv in the Mt. Carmel hills and Tel Mevorakh stratumVIII (Figure 10.6).

Site	***Comparable Objects***	***Comparable Buildings***
Tell Abu Hawam	Stratum IV	
Tell Keisan	Stratum 9a–c	✓
Yokneam	Stratum XVII	✓
Tell Qiri	Stratum VIII	✓
Afula	Stratum IIIA	
Beit Shean	S-2 [= Upper VI]	
Hazor	Stratum X	
En Hagit	✓	✓
Ramat Hanadiv (Mt. Carmel Hills)	✓	
Tel Mevorakh	StratumVIII	

Figure 10.6: Megiddo stratum VI and comparable objects and buildings

The high degree of correspondence in the objects recovered from these sites is striking, and it often includes whole assemblages. The instrumental neutron activation analysis (INAA) results further substantiate these local regional ties (Harrison 2004: 43). The material cultural links are less evident with Iron I sites on the southern coastal plain and in the highland interior.

The idea of local Canaanites coming to Megiddo after its destruction in c. 1130 B.C. (Engberg 1940: 4-9; Finkelstein 2003: 77) seems reasonable. They may be responsible for the less ostentatious mudbrick and pillared construction.

The Berzocana-type bowls from stratum VIB (Gershuny 1985) reaffirm the Aegean presence in the region. That several Sea Peoples objects were found in stratum VI's House of the Governor (2072) support the idea that the Tjeker themselves may have governed the site. According to T. Dothan, these findings included unusual rich pottery and abundant metal tools comparable to those in Tell Qasile X. Therefore, Tjeker and Canaanites may have coexisted in stratum VI.

The theory of Israelites inhabiting Megiddo VI because of collared-rim jars and pillared-construction is intriguing. However, collared-rim jars were widely used by several different ethnic groups and in coastal contexts at the end of the Late Bronze Age (Artzy 1994). Also, Halpern noted that since pillared buildings were commonplace to Iron I highlands, there was no

reason to characterize or to deny the mud-brick/pillared settlement as Israelite (Halpern 2000: 554). While biblical narratives refer to King Saul's death (estimated in c. late 11th century B.C.) and to the Philistines exhibiting his and his sons' bodies on the walls of Beit Shean, the narratives are not explicit about an Israelite settlement in Megiddo around that time. Furthermore, the next section discusses that Megiddo VI was likely destroyed and conquered by King David. Since it seems unlikely that he would have destroyed a site occupied by Israelites, an Israelite presence in Megiddo stratum VI is likewise doubtful.

1.3.2 Who destroyed stratum VI?

For about a century, scholars have attributed Megiddo stratum VI's destruction to one of three schools of thought. Watzinger's theory about Sheshonq I destroying stratum VI failed because stratum VI's destruction has been assigned to c.980 B.C., whereas Sheshonq I was attested in Megiddo c. 925 B.C., over a half-century later. Albright attributed stratum VI's destruction to a mid- to late-11th century B.C. natural disaster (e.g. earthquake). However, the evidence of burning and destruction in other sites in the Jezreel Valley in c.980 B.C. may have been less likely due to a natural disaster and more indicative of a vast military campaign. Most other scholars have supported an early 10th century B.C. destruction by King David (Simons 1942: 39–54; Alt 1944; Maisler [Mazar] 1951a: 23; 1976; Mayes 1969; Aharoni 1970: 263–65; 1972: 308–09; Dothan, T. 1982a: 79–80; Davies 1986b; Kempinski 1989: 89–90; Esse 1992; Singer 1994: 318–22; Halpern 2000: 551–57; Mazar, A. 2002: 272–77).

1.3.3 Stratigraphy (per Zorea Model)

Megiddo's findings corroborate its importance as a royal Canaanite city and then as an Egyptian stronghold and administrative center. Stratum VI played a key role in understanding the ethno-dynamics of northern Canaan between the 12th–10th centuries B.C. Several archaeological finds and epigraphic sources, like the cartouche of Ramesses VI, helped establish the end of Egypt's presence c. 1130 B.C.

While many scholars considered stratum VI's destruction either due to a mid-11th century B.C. earthquake or King David's early 10th century B.C. conquest, it is interesting to consider that c. 1050 B.C. the Tjeker rebuilt Dor (see Chapter 9: Dor, Carmel Ridge and Sharon Plain), and expanded to other north Canaan locations including Tel Dan (see Chapter 11: East Galilee), Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (see Chapter 12: Jordan and Arabah Valleys) and Tell Qasile (see Chapter 9: Dor, Carmel Ridge and Sharon Plain). This might likewise help explain the division between strata VIB and VIA and the increased number of Aegeanizing finds in stratum VIA. The site's stratigraphy and chronology can be summarized as follows (Figure 10.7):

Stratum	*Date (century B.C.)*	*Occupied by*	*Findings*	*Outcome*
VIIB	? - 13th	Canaanites	- Canaanite jars - Cypriot/Aegean pottery and bronze-works	- Destroyed by Egyptians and rebuilt
Destruction	**(c. 13th)**			
VIIA	13th – c. 1130	Egyptians Sherden mercenaries Canaanites	- Stone construction	- Destroyed by Tjeker
Destruction	**(c. 1130)**		**(debris in some areas was 4 ft deep)**	
VIB	c. 1130-1050	Tjeker Canaanites	- "Philistine Bichrome" - Non-ostentatious mud-brick and timber-pillared construction; no public works - Canaanite jars - Bronze-works including Berzocana-type bowls	
(c. 1050: Tjeker expansion from Dor)				
VIA	c. 1050-980	Tjeker Canaanites	- Dense residential - Governor's palace (2072) - Aegean finds - Bronze-works	- destroyed by Israelites (King David)
Destruction	**(c. 980)**			
VB	c. 980-	Israelites	- new construction	

Figure 10.7: Megiddo's stratigraphy and chronology (per Zorea Model)

1.3.4 Conclusion

The Tjeker destroyed Egypt's Megiddo (stratum VIIA) and settled there (strata VIB and VIA). Based on the chronology of the Tjeker's second arrival in Canaan c. 1130 B.C., the commercial relationship of Megiddo with Dor (a Tjeker site to the west), the correlation with the bronze objects in Tell Jatt (a Tjeker burial site to the south) (Zorea 2018b), and the correlation with pottery and buildings in Tell Keisan (another highly probable Tjeker location farther north), it appears that the Tjeker played an important role in 11th century B.C. Megiddo. The correlation of the Megiddo findings with sites that were already identified as Tjeker and the high degree of parallelism in findings in other northern Canaan locations such as Yokneam, Tell Qiri, Afula,

Beit Shean, Hazor, En Hagit, Ramat Hanadiv (in the Mt. Carmel Hills), and Tel Mevorakh (Harrison 2004: 107) supports the theory that the Tjeker were in Megiddo in the 11th century B.C.

2. Tjeker parallels in other nearby sites

Raban's survey in the western part of the Jezreel Valley found many Iron Age I "Philistine" sherds at various small sites (Stern 2006, cf Stern 2000b, Raban 1991). Although these sites' investigations are beyond the scope of this work, below are some highlights that reinforce the region's interconnectivity via "Philistine" and Aegean sherds and vessels which attest to the Tjeker's presence (see Part II: Introduction).

2.1 Tell Qiri

Iron Age I "Philistine" vessels were found in Tell Qiri strata 9-8 (Ben-Tor and Portugali 1987: 96: photos 42-43, 101-103, 119, 126-128) (Figure 10.8). For a long list of parallel objects between Megiddo and Tell Qiri, see Harrison (2004).

Figure 10.8: 12th–11th century B.C. "Philistine" vessel and sherds from Tell Qiri (after Ben-Tor and Portugali 1987)

2.2 Yokneam

Yokneam included "Philistine" vessels in different areas of strata XVIII (late 12th /early 11th century B.C.) and XVII (latter half 11th century B.C.) (Ben-Tor 1993: 808-809; Ben-Tor *et al.* 2005: 77: fig. I.28: 10) (Figure 10.9). Harrison (2004: 19) compared similar buildings between Yokneam stratum XVII's "Oil maker's House" (structure 3035) (Ben-Tor *et al.* 2005: 19, 22-27) and Tell Qiri stratum VIII Area D's building (Ben-Tor and Portugali 1987: 80-86).

Figure 10.9: Pilgrim flask from Yokneam stratum XVII (after Ben-Tor *et al.* 2005)

2.3 Afula

In the center of the Jezreel Valley, the mound of Afula stratum III exposed architectural remains of the Iron I period. The eastern cemetery labeled IIb included a pyxis, two flasks and a group of pottery vessels. Stratum IIIa included 11th century B.C. "Philistine type" sherds (Dothan, M. 1955: 48-50, fig. 20; Dothan, T. 1982a: 189) (Figure 10.10).

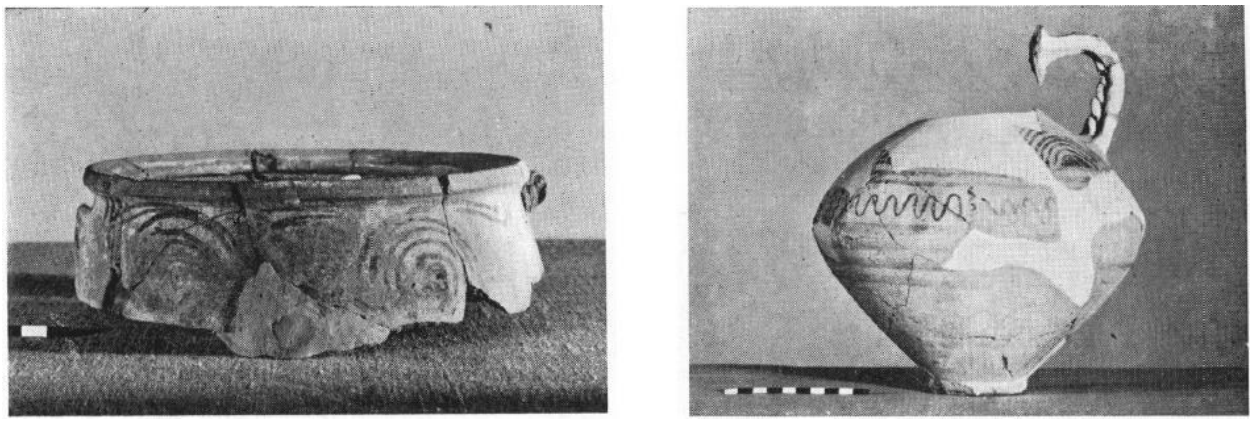


Figure 10.10: "Philistine-type" sherds from Afula stratum III (after Dothan, M. 1955)

2.4 Tel Qashish

Tel Qashish's stratum IV residential areas included a few "Philistine" sherds, many collared-rim jars and pithoi, some stone storage bins, and installations for processing agricultural products (Ben-Tor *et al*. 1981: fig.7; 2003: 344: fig. 131:9) (Figure 10.11).

Figure 10.11: "Philistine" sherd from Tel Qashish stratum IV (after Ben-Tor *et al*. 2003)

2.5 Hurvat Hazin

Hurvat Hazin included remains of a 12th century B.C. fortification and decorated bichrome "Philistine" ware (Raban 1991: 20, fig. 2.3) (Figure 10.12). A trial excavation in a low mound (less than two acres) near Beer Tiveon uncovered the lower part of a pit filled with 12th century B.C. broken pottery vessels. Most of the finds were typical of the Aegean culture including a pyxis, a decorated carinated bowl and a large part of a "beer jug" (Raban 1982: 24-29, xiii-xiv; Raban 1991: fig. 2). Similar ware was uncovered in nearby sites: Tel Risim, Tel Re'ala, Hurvat Zeror, Tel Shan, Mizrach Oz and Tell Abu Zuneiq (near Tell Qiri) (Stern 2000: 206).

Figure 10.12: "Philistine" pottery from Hurvat Hazin (after Raban 1991)

2.6 Tell Dothan

Tell Dothan's strategic location dominated the southern pass of the coastal highway, the critical route for armies and caravans traveling from Egypt to Mesopotamia. Locally, it connected the heartland of ancient Samaria to the Jezreel Valley. It is located southeast of Megiddo, southwest of Beit Shean, and north of Schechem. Its excavations included several short preliminary field reports (Free 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1958, 1959, 1960), excavation-findings conducted by R. E. Cooley (Gershuny 1985), as well as one article about the western cemetery (Cooley and Pratico 1995).

Based on the introduction of new burial patterns during the Late Bronze Age, Gonen (1992) proposed that Tell Dothan's tombs were foreign and reflected immigration into Canaan. Tell Dothan's findings (Gershuny 1985: 31; Cooley and Practico 1994) are similar to Iron Age I finds in Megiddo (Loud 1948: 112, 150; Yadin 1970: 77), Beit Shean (Pritchard 1980; Oren 1973: 116-117), and Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Pritchard 1968: 108 ff.; Tubb 1988).

The bronze curved bowls (Gershuny 1985: pl. 3 #35, #48) (Figure 10.13) have similar parallels in several sites such as Megiddo stratum VIB Locus 1729 (Loud 1948: pl. 190: 11;

Harrison 2004: 32: 4, 5), and 11th century B.C. Achziv cist tomb 1029 (Prausnitz 1997: table 2: 1). These Berzocana-type bowls support the presence of Aegeans.

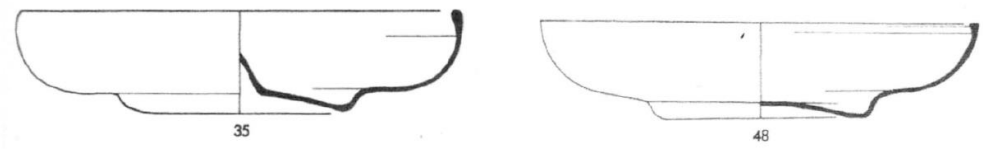


Figure 10.13: Berzocana-type bowls from Dothan (after Gershuny 1985)

Tell Dothan's cultic rod tripods have parallels in Cyprus including Palaepaphos Tomb 132 (Flourentzos 1997: 213, pl. XLII), the Palaepaphos Skales necropolis (Karageorghis 1983: figs. LX, LXXII, LXXXVI, CXXX) and Kition (Georgiou 2003: 154). Several of these tripods are housed at St. George's Church in Jerusalem.

Chapter 11: East Galilee

This chapter discusses the East Galilee sites of Tel Dan and Hazor (Figure 11.1), and the transition from Egyptian to Tjeker presence c. 1130 B.C. when the Tjeker returned to northern Canaan and defeated the Egyptians.

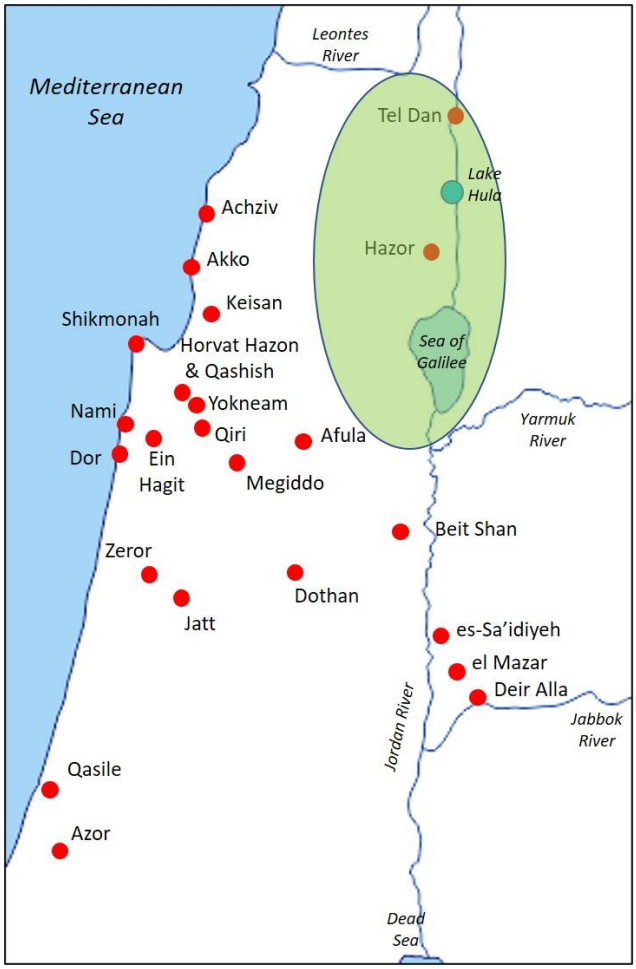


Figure 11.1: Map of northern Canaan, esp. East Galilee

1. Tel Dan

Tel Dan (Tell el Qadi) is situated in the eastern Galilee's northern panhandle, between Mount Lebanon to the west, the Hermon Mountains to the east and north, and along the Jordan river, which makes the immediate area highly fertile. It was highly valued for its strategic position between Tyre and Damascus. Excavations at Tel Dan began in 1966 under the direction of A. Biran and continued until 1999 (Biran 1994a; Biran and Ben Dov 2002). After a hiatus of several years, D. Ilan renewed the excavations (Ilan 2019).

1.1 Findings and stratigraphy

Excavators identified sixteen strata in Tel Dan (Ilan 1997). Whereas the Middle Bronze Age ended with stratum IX, this chapter focuses on the strata from the LBA to the Iron Age I.

1.1.1 Stratum VIIB

The most impressive assemblage in stratum VIIB was found in Area B's Tomb 387, or large-corbelled "Mycenaean tomb" (Biran 1994a: 111), where "Approximately forty individuals – men, women and children were interred over time with old burials pushed aside to make room for later burials and offerings" (Biran 1994a: 114). Almost 500 buried goods were counted, including sheep and/or goat bones, 108 pottery vessels, glass objects, gold jewelry, silver objects, ivory objects, bronze tools, weapons, a bronze bowl, a bronze oil lamp and basalt bowls (Biran 1970: 92-94; 1971: 5-6; 1974: 32-35; Karageorghis 1971: 11-13; Biran 1994a: 111-114).

Tel Dan's "Mycenaean tomb" included objects from other locations as well as locally-made ware. Using nuclear techniques to identify the origin of the different vessels produced the "unexpected result" (Gunnewag *et al.* 1992: 62) that all the Mycenaean III A2 – B1 were imported from one region of Greece: Mycenae Berbati. Other items came from Kition in Cyprus and Akko in northern Canaan. Numerous objects have parallels with finds from tombs by Akko's Persian Garden (e.g. flasks, daggers, arrowheads and pendants) (Biran and Ben-Dov 2002: 88-89, 122, 126, 128-130, 132-133, 155 and 172) (see Chapter 8: Akko Valley).

Besides the tomb, a flagstone pavement or street was bordered by structures on either side and extended north from the area AB gate. Under this pavement was a terracotta plaque depicting a dancing figure playing a musical instrument (Biran 2003: 128) (Figure 11.2).

Figure 11.2: Terracotta plaque with the dancer (after Biran 2003)

1.1.2 Stratum VIIA

According to Ilan (2019: 635), the finds in stratum VIIA reflect an Egyptian outpost from c. 1270 B.C. to 1140/1130 B.C. The final phase of Egyptian rule in Tel Dan ended no later than the reign of Ramesses VI (c. 1141-1133 B.C.) (Weinstein 1981, 1992; Morris 2018: 216-217), similar to Beit Shean (Mazar, A. 2009: 17, 23) and Megiddo (Weinstein 1992).

Findings included Egyptian cooking pots, a razor blade (Figure 11.3), and practice arrowheads made of bone. The similar Egyptian material culture and mortuary practices suggest that Tel Dan was under Egyptian control during much of the Late Bronze Age (Ilan 1997). The burial-jars contained Egyptian scarabs and other objects, similar to those found in the Egyptian garrison in Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (see Chapter 12: Jordan and Arabah Valleys).

Figure 11.3: Egyptian-style razor blade (after Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology)

1.1.3 Stratum VI

Around c. 1130 B.C. all Egyptians garrisons in Canaan were destroyed including the one in Tel Dan. After 1130 B.C. the site was no longer an Egyptian garrison, but it was still occupied (Ilan 2019: 637). Findings included Egyptian-style cooking jugs (Figure 11.4). Stratum VI exposed signs of metallurgy activity, geared towards recycling copper and bronze and included melting furnaces, crucibles, slags, blow-pipe nozzles (especially in area B), and a mould for a scepter.

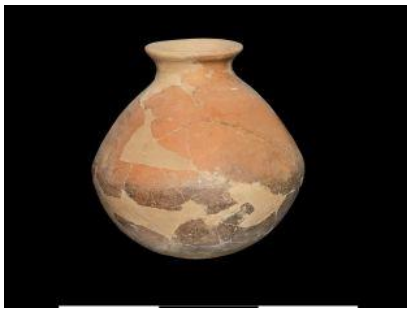


Figure 11.4: Egyptian-style pottery cooking vessel (after Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology)

Stone-lined pits (Ilan 2019: 23, fig. 2.3) (Figure 11.5) testify to a nomad presence and were a very common find in this stratum. They contained numerous and varied pottery vessels ranging from large pithoi to small pyxides, as well as animal bones, organic residues and ashes. Of particular interest are the many narrow-necked collared-rim and wide-necked Galilean-type pithoi that some scholars attributed to the Israelites and specifically to the tribe of Dan (Albright 1934: 12; Biran 1989: 71; Yannai 2006: 101, 105). The northern geographic limit of these collared-rim jars findings related to that time was the Valley of Jezreel and Akko (Mazar, A. 1981).

Figure 11.5: Area B-west: Pit 1201 (stratum VI) and remains of slab pavement (stratum V) (after Ilan 2019)

1.1.4 Stratum V

"It did not take the tribe of Dan long to shed its nomadic character" (Biran 1994: 135).

Following the destruction of stratum VI, the inhabitants of Tel Dan probably rebuilt existing structures. The population grew and the settlement expanded, filling in open spaces between houses. Stratum V was represented by a dense array of domestic and industrial architecture, some of which was two stories high (Ilan 1997: 109). The site was converted into an urban set-up (Biran 1994: 135) since the earlier silo fields were built over and pithoi were kept above ground.

Both excavators Biran and Ilan agreed that at one point in time after 1100 B.C. two levels of floors were identified and new construction followed utilizing the same existing walls (Biran 1994: 141; Ilan 2019: 31). Evidence of destruction was found corresponding at that same time (Ilan; 2019: 31) leading to a change in the strata nomenclature.

Biran (1994: 138) defined the sub-strata prior to the destruction as VB and labeled VA the one after the destruction, while Ilan (2017: 31) names them B9 and B10 respectively. In stratum VA small vessels showed up, revealing a new material culture different from the one based on larger amphorae and pithoi identified in VB. Small and large bowls, jugs, juglets, chalices, flasks, and pyxides were unearthed. Biran (1994: 141) stated:

> "It seems as though the inhabitants, having adopted a more sedentary existence, could now indulge in the luxury of acquiring vessels, elegant as well as practical. It is to this period that we ascribe the Philistine sherds found inside a large jar in a stone-lined pit in area Y. Two of the sherds are of the classic, fine Philistine bi-chrome ware, while the third is part of a locally made krater decorated with a Philistine motif."

A new type of jar also shows up, with wavy decorations that according to Biran (1994: 141) can be traced to Cyprus. In area K, part of a well-preserved stone-built structure contained a terracotta mask, a javelin head and the abovementioned mould. A rectangular building contained a small chamber with Aegean cultic origins and parallels in Cyprus (i.e. Enkomi and Kition), Greece (i.e. Phylakopi, on the island of Milos), and Canaan (i.e. Tell Qasile). Area AB included a small appended sanctuary, perhaps serving as a miniature shrine, which contained ceremonial objects, including a figurine fragment (Figure 11.6) that is related to Mycenaean Phi, Psi and Tau figurine types (Furumark 1941a: 86-89); and fragments of a ceramic "bird-bowl" (Figure 11.7), similar to a find in Tell Qasile X. Other finds included Aegean pottery vessels decorated with birds (Figure 11.8), chalices, offering bowls, a model silo (Figure 11.9), and curious brain-shaped (perhaps ritual) stones.

Figure 11.6: Mycenaean-style mourning figurine head with painted face (after Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology)

Figure 11.7: Bird bowl (after Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology)

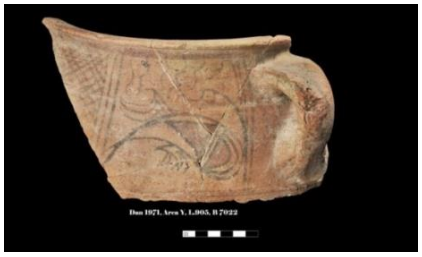


Figure 11.8: Pottery vessel featuring a bird (after Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology)

Figure 11.9: Model of a grain silo (after Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology)

The stylistic connections of the Tel Dan pottery with contemporary Philistine, Aegean and Cypriot ceramics has been discussed by Zuckerman (2019: 351). Among the most interesting Cypriot objects found in Tel Dan stratum VI were Cypriot-style pithoi (Figure 11.10) and Cypriot stamps (Figure 11.11).

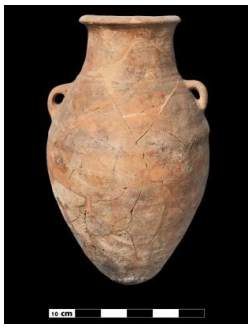


Figure 11.10: Cypriot-style pithoi (after Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology)

Figure 11.11: Cypriot-style stamps (after Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology)

Stratum V was destroyed in a great conflagration. The table below summarizes the stratigraphy interpretations per Biran (1994a) and Ilan (2019) (Figure 11.12).

		Biran (1994a)		***Ilan (2019)***		
#	***Stratum***	***Dating (century B.C.)***	***Character of Settlement***	***Dating (century B.C.)***	***Occupants***	***Findings / Outcome***
1.	VIII-VII	LB I – II 16th – 13th	Continuation of MB city culture	14th–13th centuries	Canaanites	Destroyed
2.	VII latter phase	LBII - Iron I transition ending c. 1200	Degenerated	VIIA: LB-Iron I transition c. 1270-1140/1130	Egyptians Danuna/Denyen	Egyptians abandoned in reign of Ramses VI due to Egyptian turmoil and local revolt
3.	VI	Iron I c. 12th	Village? Dense Pits	Iron IA c. 1140/1130-1100	Some Egyptian findings? Danuna	Many Egyptian cooking pots Few houses Many grain pits
	Fire?					
4.	V	Iron I c. 12th – first half of 11th	Organized village Urbanism	Iron IA c. 1100-1000	*(cont.)*	Many houses Dense architecture Few grain pits Prosperity Destroyed in massive fire
	Destruction layer 50 cm thick	**c. 1050**		**Destruction layer c. 1000**		
5.	IVB	Iron I-II transition c. late 11th - mid-10th	Village?	Iron IB c. 1000-920	King David? More likely a local Aramean polity (Abel Beth Maacah? Beth Rehov?)	Some houses built using wall of previous stratum Earthquake destruction
	Traces of local burning; destr. by earthquake?	**c.950**		**Earthquake destruction c.920**		
6.	IVA	Iron IIA/B? c. late 10th – early 9th	City?	Iron IIA c. 920-830	*cont.?* Or Jeroboam I and then Omrid kings	Bamah A (Temple complex) Houses everywhere

Figure 11.12: Tel Dan's stratigraphy and chronology (after Biran 1994a and Ilan 2019)

1.2 Interpretations

Several theories have been offered in the last decades in an effort to reconcile Tel Dan's different archaeological findings (see also Chapter 3: Denyen).

1.2.1 13th century B.C. commerce with Greece

Based on the Mycenaean Tomb finds, one theory stated that 13th century B.C. Canaanites lived in Dan and traded/imported large numbers of vessels from the Argolid (Gunneweg *et al.* 1992: 61-62).

1.2.2 Aegeans were Egyptian mercenaries

Given the 13th century B.C. Aegean finds in Tel Dan, another theory claimed that the Aegeans in Tel Dan were mercenaries of the Egyptians (Ilan 2019: 637).

1.2.3 The relationship between Denyen (Aegeans) and Danites (Israelites)

Yadin (1968: 20) offered two possibilities:

> "From all that has been said above it would prove that only one of two conclusions can be drawn: either there were two different tribes (the Danites and the Danai) with an identical name and similar characteristics which operated in the identical geographical period, or that there is a link between the tribe of Dan and the tribe of the Danai, and possibly even a certain measure of identity. The former case could constitute an exceeding peculiar and remarkable concatenation of circumstances; whereas the second case, which appears more realistic, enables us to explain various phenomena linked with the Danai themselves, and particularly, all that affects the tribe of the Danites."

According to the first option, there were two different tribes, the Israelite tribe of Dan and the Aegean tribe of the Denyen/Danai; "the Danai also settled in Palestine" and the two groups were connected. Alternatively, the similar-sounding Denyen and Dan were actually one entity (Yadin 1968: 22).

1.2.4 Denyen and Danites took over Laish

According to Ilan (2019: 637) the Aegean-style artifacts in Tel Dan suggested the presence of worshippers from the Aegean, perhaps the Denyen, Danuna, or *Danoi* in Greek (in short, one of the ancient Greek tribes that were also one of the Aegean Sea Peoples who invaded Egypt c. 1175 B.C. as described in Ramesses III's mortuary temple relief). As such, perhaps the Israelite pottery found in the same strata as the Aegean pottery belonged to the Israelite tribe of Dan, and that this comingling of artifacts could be explained by a Denyen-Danite alliance.

1.2.5 Tel Dan was a cosmopolitan community

Based on the comingling of artifacts from different ethnic groups in similar strata depths, a related theory claimed that Iron Age Tel Dan housed a cosmopolitan community (Egyptians, Aegeans, Canaanites, Israelites, etc.) (Ilan 2019: 637) where the newcomers "absorbed the culture of their Canaanites predecessors" (Biran 1989: 82). According to Ilan, the Aegean foreigners married local Canaanites, a theory supported by the kind of cooking vessels found inside the houses. Ilan (2019: 638) added:

> "These are the kind of peoples we see and hear about in the *Medinet Habu* reliefs and Papyrus Harris I, though the scenario that I am positioning for Tel Dan would have occurred several decades later…it seems reasonable to suggest that a new social identity evolved at the site, which incorporated the elements of previous identities (cf. Burmeister 2000: 546; Rouse 1986: 178-179)."

1.2.6 Who destroyed stratum VI?

The debris and ash deposited in some of the pits and on fragments of living surfaces indicate some destruction to the Aegean stratum VI. According to Ilan (2019: 637) the extent of this destruction could not have been significant and there was no way of knowing who (or what) was responsible. Until recently many authors like Biran (1994b: 4) claimed that nomad Israelites were likely responsible for destroying stratum VI, digging pits that penetrated previous strata, and changing their way of life to make Tel Dan an urban center.

1.2.7 Who destroyed stratum V?

Stratum V was destroyed by a major fire. Biran (1994b: 6) believed that stratum V was destroyed c. mid-11th century B.C., around the same time the Philistines destroyed Shiloh. Ilan (2019: 638) hypothesized that the inhabitants were removed (or left) rapidly c. 1000 B.C. He discounted the likelihood of an earthquake given the absence of a clear pattern in the collapse of the walls and lack of human remains and noted that the responsible party was unknown.

1.3 Zorea Model Applied

1.3.1 Analysis

During the last decades, authors and excavators have commented about major difficulties in matching pottery with chronology to figure out what really happened in Tel Dan (Gunneweg *et al.* 1992: 62). Tel Dan's pit density in strata VI and V made the archaeological work more complex. Excavators admitted how difficult it was from the archaeological perspective to understand the strata characteristics where Iron Age "Israelite" collared-rim jars were found along with Iron Age Aegean and Late Bronze Age Egyptian finds. This was explained in part by

pits that although were originated at a time corresponding to stratum V, reached deeper strata, disturbing strata VI and even VII (e.g. Pit 4349). According to Biran (1989: 80): "The digging of pits in such density resulted in the destruction of the architectural remains from earlier strata, and this fact accounts for the scarcity of Late Bronze architectural remains."

The Zorea Model attributes the Aegean presence in Tel Dan (Stratum VI) to the Tjeker and not to the Denyen, as proposed by D. Ilan. Since the Israelites fought against the Philistines in the south and Tjeker in the north, it is unlikely that Tjeker and Israelites lived together in Tel Dan during the period 1130-1100 B.C. Alternatively, we should consider the possibility that Israelites (or another nomad tribe) destroyed the Tjeker facilities (corresponding to the end of stratum VI), took over the site, and dug numerous and differently-sized pits to store food and also for refuse. Some of these pits had stone-lined walls all the way to the bottom, and others had only pebbles at their base.

According to Ilan (2008: 91, 93: table 1; 2019), stratum VI lasted about 30 years and showed many pits. The excavators found that these pits, usually contained nothing but fill, but stratum V lasted about a century and showed almost no pits (Figure 11.13). According to Ilan (2008 cf Finkelstein 1986; Ben-Ami 2001: 151-156), stratum VI's ratio of pits to excavated area is similar to Hazor's stratum XII-XI. Perhaps this suggests that the same or a similar group of nomads occupied both sites (see below § 2. Hazor).

Area	***Stratum VI***	***Excavated area (m^2)***	***Stratum V***	***Excavated area (m^2)***
B-east	4	350	1	400
B-west	28	475	3	550
H	1	30	0?	30
M	7	54	0	85
Y	5	55	0	70
Totals	**45**	**975**	**4**	**1135**

Figure 11.13: Number of pits relative to excavated area in strata VI and V (after Ilan 2008)

Ilan (2011: 136) noted that stratum V "experienced the development of a dense network of architecture in all areas excavated – so dense, in fact, that no open spaces have been detected at all.", adding that "Much of what underlie its foundations was either erased or incorporated." Ilan (2019: 30). As the inhabitants built more houses, they may have repurposed some stones from the stone-lined pits for new construction material, and refilled the empty pit space.

Ilan (2019: 24) wrote that "It is usually difficult to know exactly where the top of a pit was. In most cases the pit is not immediately discerned in excavation and the top is probably the first part to collapse inwards." Ilan (2008: 92) also noted that "It is only fair at this juncture to remark that the excavation techniques used at Tel Dan were not as precise as one might desire, especially in the retrospective light of the questions raised here. Flotation was carried out in only

a few cases and sealing materials, wall linings, and basal matter were not sampled for phytolithic or other microanalysis."

Given other urbanization effects in northern Canaan c. 1050 B.C. (i.e. Dor, Megiddo, Beit Shean, Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, Tel Zeror and Tell Qasile) it may be reasonable to apply a c. 1050 B.C. cutoff to divide the century-long stratum V into two phases, and label the nomadic plus urban as stratum "VB" and the other urban development that followed the destruction as stratum "VA".

Is it possible, therefore, that Tel Dan's urbanization, stone scavenging and reuse as well as collapsing pits thereby "erased" evidence of the upper portions of the original pits from the archaeological landscape? Is it possible that pits previously attributed to stratum VI were really dug from stratum VB?

I believe that although pits were found in stratum VI, pitting originated chronologically from stratum VB and made their way to lower stratum VI (Tjeker) as well as stratum VIIA (Egyptians). This explains the finding of nomadic objects in these lower strata, despite the fact that the Israelites were not present in stratum VI. This concept is illustrated below (Figure 11.14). Panel 1 depicts the small Aegean stratum VI village with no pits. Panel 2 depicts stratum VB at an early stage that includes the nomadic village, a damaged (perhaps abandoned) Aegean residence, tent and pits. Panel 3 depicts the urbanized city still in stratum VB when the inhabitants may have reused stones from several pits as material for new construction.

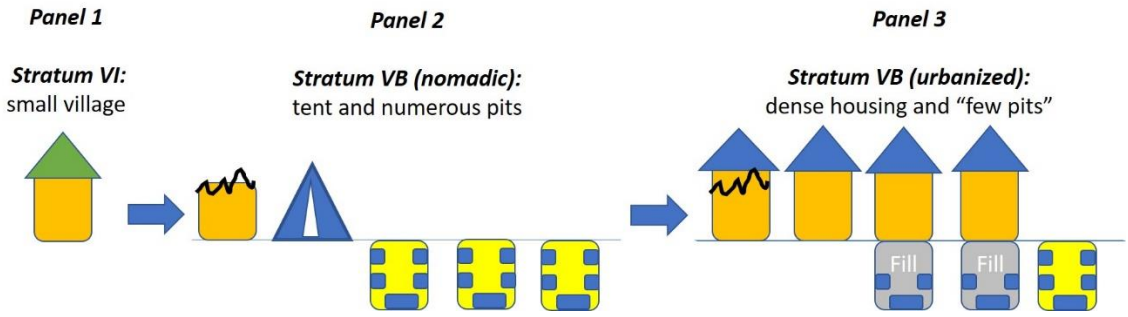


Figure 11.14: Effects of pitting, stone-scavenging/reuse and urbanization

1.3.2 Stratigraphy (per Zorea Model)

I propose that the same Tjeker groups who destroyed Tel Dan's Egyptian garrison c. 1130 B.C. built homes in stratum VI between c. 1130-1100 B.C., were overrun by tent-and-pit nomads c. 1100 B.C., and came back and reconquered the city c. 1050 B.C. They cleared the debris from previously abandoned/damaged homes, rebuilt them, and further urbanized the city in stratum VA (Figure 11.15). This explains the unearthing of Aegean finds in both stratum VI (12th century B.C.) and stratum V (11th century B.C.). The Tjeker's advanced material culture (e.g. urban living, metallurgic expertise, religious artifacts, etc.) is evident in Tel Dan (Stratum VA).

	After Ilan 2019				*After Zorea Model*			
#	***Dating (century B.C.)***	***Stratum / Occupied by***	***Findings***	***Outcome***	***Dating (century B.C.)***	***Occupied by***	***Findings***	***Outcome***
1.	14th–13th	**VIIB** Canaanites	Mycenaean Tomb 387 "Dancer from Dan" terracotta	Destroyed by Egyptians	14th–13th	**VIIB** Canaanites	Mycenaean Tomb 387 "Dancer from Dan" terracotta	Destroyed by Egyptians
2.	c. 1270-1130	**VIIA** Egyptians/ Aegeans	Egyptian wares	Egyptian turmoil and local revolt	c. 1270-1130	**VIIA** Egyptians	Egyptian wares	Defeated by Tjeker
	c. 1130	**Destr.**			**c. 1130**	**Destr.**		
3.	c. 1130-1100	**VI** Egyptians/ Aegeans/ nomads (Israelites?)	Metal recycling Many Pits Few houses	*(cont)*	c. 1130-1100	**VI** Aegean (Tjeker)	Metal recycling Pitting from stratum VB	Conquered by nomads
	c. 1100	**Fire?**			**c. 1100**	**Fire?**		
4.	c. 1100-1000	**V** B10 nomads to urban	Reuse and new construction Dense housing Few pits	Destroyed by massive fire	c. 1100-1050	**VB (B10)** Israelites / nomads+urban	Pits (some disrupted strata VI and VIIA)	Reconquered by Tjeker
5.		B9 urban			c. 1050–980	**VA (B9)** Aegean – urban (Tjeker)	Reuse and new construction Dense housing Few pits	Destroyed by massive fire
	c. 1000	**Destr.**			**c. 980**	**Destr.**		

Figure 11.15: Tel Dan's stratigraphy and chronology (after Ilan 2019 and after Zorea Model)

As for a Denyen presence, the Onomasticon of Amenope (c. 1100 B.C.) does not list the Denyen near other peoples or sites attributed to Canaan. Also, there is no proof that they even landed or settled in Canaan in the early Iron Age, or that they joined forces with the tribe of Dan (see Chapter 3: Denyen). As far as Egyptian mercenaries, "only the Sherden are specified in Egyptian texts as having served in this capacity" (Tubb 1998: 102) which implies that Tel Dan VIIA would have likely been controlled by Egyptians and their Sherden mercenaries (see Chapter 5: Sherden).

1.3.3 Conclusions

The Zorea Model (see Chapter 6: Tjeker) offers some new perspectives that may help to reconcile some of Tel Dan's controversial issues. Accordingly, Tel Dan was occupied by different ethnic groups during different periods. The Egyptians and possibly their Sherden mercenaries were present during the 13th–12th centuries B.C. (stratum VIIA).

The Tjeker returned to northern Canaan, defeated the Egyptians 1130 B.C. and took over their garrison in Tel Dan (c. 1130). Their presence is testified by the findings in (stratum VI) but came to an end at the time the Israelites or some other nomad tribes replaced them after 1100

B.C. (Yadin 1968: 21). The archaeological evidence exposed in strata VI indicates that nomads attacked and defeated an established higher culture (Biran 1989: 81).

Regarding stratum V it is reasonable to split it into two phases. Phase VB relates to the appearance of nomads (probably Israelites), the establishment of a nomad village and the origination of heavy pitting, a practice that was not an Aegean/Tjeker characteristic. This pitting was responsible for disturbing the lower strata (VI and VIIA) and may explain the findings of nomadic objects in those strata. Later the nomad village converted into an Israelite urban site.

The Tjeker were responsible for its destruction and the re-use of building materials from the Israelite urban site. Pitting does not account for the Aegean objects found in stratum VI or in parts of higher stratum V (Bruins *et al.* 2005: 329) although the Tjeker conquests of Tel Dan in c. 1130 B.C. and c. 1050 B.C. may provide a comprehensive explanation about the origin of the Aegean findings that corresponded to both strata (VI and VA).

No evidence of Denyen presence was detected in Tel Dan (see Chapter 3: Denyen).

2. Hazor

The impressive Late Bronze Age city of Hazor was located 14 km north of the Sea of Galilee, 8 km southwest of Lake Hula (Yadin 1993: 594), and 26 km south of Tel Dan. It was identified with Tell el-Qedah by J. Porter in 1875 and reconfirmed by J. Garstang in 1926 (Hasel 1998: 139). Yigael Yadin's expeditions to Hazor (from 1955 to 1958 and again in 1968) uncovered Middle and Late Bronze Age (2000-1200 B.C.) temples, palaces, and city fortifications. His efforts were followed by A. Ben-Tor (1998). A new expedition (the Selz Foundation Hazor Excavations in Memory of Yigael Yadin), sponsored by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in conjunction with Madrid's Complutense University[32] and the Israel Exploration Society, commenced in 1990. The results of all these excavations have been published in several volumes (Yadin *et al.* 1958; Yadin *et al.* 1960; Yadin *et al.* 1961; Ben-Tor *et al.* 1997; Ben-Tor *et al.* 2012; Ben-Tor *et al.* 2017).

2.1 Findings and stratigraphy

2.1.1 Stratum XIII

Archaeologists traditionally ascribe Bronze Age Hazor as a Canaanite city, whose last stage (stratum XIII) culminated in destruction sometime in the 13th century B.C. (see below § 2.2 Theories on Hazor). Most of Hazor's Egyptian pieces included statuary, scarabs and Egyptian-type pottery, like the kind which appeared predominantly between the Late Bronze Age IIB and the Iron Age IA (Ramesside period, c. 1292-1069 B.C.) at a number of Egyptian administrative

[32] The participants in the 1996 season included groups from Complutense University Madrid (directed by Prof. Maria Teresa Rubiato).

centers and strongholds (e.g. Beit Shean, Jaffa, Ashkelon, Deir el-Balaḥ, Tel Seraʿ and Tell el-Farʿah [South]).

Egyptian finds from the Middle Bronze "were all apparently still in use at the site during the Late Bronze Age" (Connor *et al.* 2017: table 15.1: 575). In fact, most pieces were found in Late Bronze Age contexts dating from the 13th century B.C. (Connor *et al*. 2017: 574). Smashed fragments of a small head of an Egyptian king (Connor *et al.* 2017: table 15.1:3; photos 15.1–15.5) (Figure 11.16) were uncovered in the destruction debris of stratum XIII.

Figure 11.16: Royal head (after Connor *et al.* 2017)

In addition, plenty of objects were found in the northwestern room of the Ceremonial Palace/ Royal Sanctuary including two model shrines, two gold-plated bronze statuettes, various jewelry items, a complete Cypriote WS II milk-bowl, and hundreds of pottery vessels (mainly open and carinated bowls, lamps and several large pithoi) and a lion-headed cup (Zuckerman 2008: 115).

In c. 1246 B.C., Egypt's military commander Huy escorted the first Hittite princess to Egypt and was rewarded with the post of Viceroy of Nubia (Kitchen 1980: 79). After Rameses II's Year 42 c. 1237 B.C., Vizier Prehotep may have escorted the second Hittite princess from the northern border, south through Canaan and Hazor (where he left a monument between c. 1240-1230 B.C.), to Pi-Ramesses to marry the King (Kitchen 2003). Ramesses II appointed Prehotep (also known as Rahotep) as his High Priest of Ptah c. 1224 B.C. and it is noteworthy that "Hazor was still operative down to the last decades of Ramesses II" (Kitchen 2003). A later finding shows an entire blue lotus flower similar to the ones found in the Theban tombs of Merneptah (d. c. 1203 B.C.) and Ramesses IV (d. c. 1149 B.C.) (Aston *et al*. 1998: pl. 18, no. 178).

2.1.2 Stratum XII-XI

Similar to Tel Dan, Hazor stratum XII-XI included pits and sherds of Israelite pottery. According to Ilan (2008: 92-92, cf Finkelstein 1986; Ben-Ami 2001: 151-156), Hazor stratum XII-XI had a ratio of about 70 pits per 1000 m^2, just like Tel Dan stratum VI (see above § 1. Tel Dan).

Stratum XII-XI also included Egyptian findings such as the two statue fragments from Yadin's excavation in the 1950s (Yadin *et al*. 1961: pls. CCCXXIII: 4–6), and 17 statue

fragments unearthed by the newer excavators from unidentifiable Egyptian statues (Connor *et al.* 2017: 575-576: table 15.1:5–17, 587-589: photos 15.9–15.11).

Some were clearly of a royal nature or belonged to officials. A few fragments were made of obsidian, likely from the sphynxes that were found (Connor *et al.* 2017: 574). According to Connor *et al*. (2017), two fragments were found in Late Bronze Age fills (*ibid.*, table 15.1:7–8), one was found in a fill with both Bronze and Iron Age pottery (*ibid.*, table 15.1:12), and three were used as building material in Iron Age walls (*ibid.*, table 15.1:1, 4, 14).

As for non-Egyptian, non-Israelite, and non-Canaanite finds, several of these were found in or nearby the cultic area and included jugs, flasks with concentric circles (Ben-Tor *et al.* 2012: 50, fig 1.15: 4) (Figure 11.17), a zoomorphic vessel (*ibid.*, fig. 1.15: 12) (Figure 11.18), two pyxides (*ibid.*, fig. 1.15: 6) (Figure 11.19) (one of which is decorated reddish-brown, the lower register with a wavy line, and the upper register with wavy lines), and miniature bowls (*ibid.*, fig. 1.15: 8-9).

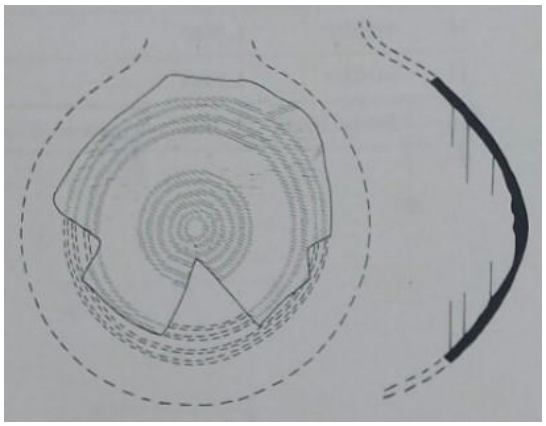


Figure 11.17: Hazor XII-XI flask with concentric circles (after Ben-Tor *et al.* 2012)

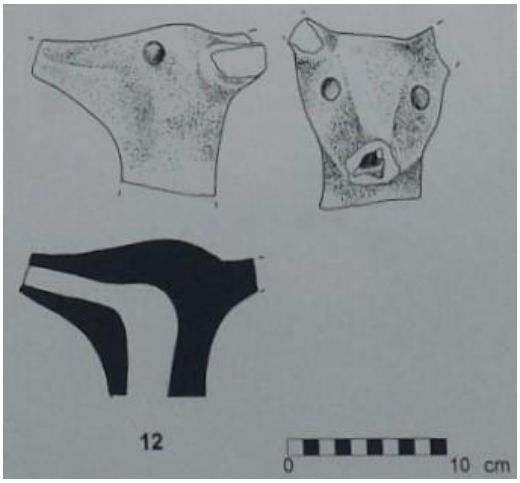


Figure 11.18: Hazor XII-XI zoomorphic vessel (after Ben-Tor *et al.* 2012)

Figure 11.19: Hazor XII-XI pyxis (after Ben-Tor *et al.* 2012)

2.1.3 Stratum X

The newcomers who came into stratum X initially lived in temporary conditions and built and used two different kinds of pits a) stone-aligned pits (perhaps to preserve food) and b) pits with no stone alignment (perhaps for refuse) (Ben-Ami 2001: 153) and developed a discernible urbanism (Merja 2017).

2.2 Interpretations

2.2.1 Chronology of Hazor's strata

Scholarly consensus dates the end of Hazor stratum XIII with the destruction of the Canaanite city, and attributes stratum X to the presence of Israelites (Ben-Tor *et al.* 2012; Connor *et al*. 2017). Stratum X showed the rise of a new discernible urbanism and social structure which reflected a totally different way of life (Merja 2017). In the layers in between, excavators identified Egyptian objects, Israelite pits and pottery as well as other diverse ceramic assemblages. Yadin attributed stratum XIII to the end of the Bronze Age and the subsequent strata to the Iron Age I (strata XII and XI) (Yadin 1972: 118, 133–194), Iron Age II (strata X – IV), and the Assyrian period (stratum III).

The new excavators noted, "given Hazor's location in northern Israel, the number of Egyptian statues and statuary fragments uncovered at the site (table 15.1) looks surprising" (Connor *et al.* 2017: 574). They added that since most of the fragments are from the Middle Bronze Age and predate Egypt's presence in Hazor, how and when all these objects were brought to Hazor remains a matter of speculation. Some of the Aegyptica likely arrived via a high-level royal. Some of the ceramics may not have even been imported from Egypt, but rather produced locally; nonetheless, because of the scarcity of Egyptian finds, the number of Egyptian

personnel in Hazor was likely not significant (Martin 2011: 590). Perhaps the later nomadic pitting helps explain how some of these Aegyptica appeared within fills of Iron Age walls.

Hazor's destruction has been dated to the mid-13th century B.C. (Kochavi 1984: 63; Beck *et al.* 1985: 29-42; Kempinski 1985: 401, nn. 11 and 18; Yadin 1993: 603). As for the Iron Age I layer(s), whereas Yadin presented strata XII and XI separately (Ben-Ami 2001: 149-150, 165-170), the new excavators unified them into a single stratum XII-XI. Either way, this layer(s) represented a modest village. The new excavators also assigned the newly discovered Egyptian objects from this layer to the earlier stratum XIII.

Based on his work in Megiddo, Finkelstein (1996b; 1996c; 2005c; 2006; 2009) developed a Low Chronology that lowered conventional dates in Canaan by seventy years (see Chapter 10: Jezreel Valley, esp. Megiddo). His reassessment of Hazor focused mostly on the Iron Age II strata (Finkelstein 1999), although he likewise down-dated the Iron Age I strata (Finkelstein 2005a: 348).

Hazor's strata and chronology can be summarized as follows (Figure 11.20):

		Yadin (1972)	***New Excavators*** (Ben-Ami 2001; Ben-Tor *et al.* 2012; Merja 2017)	***Finkelstein*** (2005a: 348)
Stratum	***Period Description***	***Dating (B.C.)***	***Dating (B.C.)***	***Dating (B.C.)***
XIII	(LBA) Includes destruction (by unknown people)	**Late**-13th century	**Mid**-13th century	13th century – abandoned before c. 1200
			Abandoned	Abandoned
XII	(IA I)	12th century	11th century - single stratum "XII-XI" - included MB/LBA Egyptian finds	c. 1100
XI	New (unknown) population living in "camps"			
X-	(IA II) New urbanism, etc.	Late-11th /10th centuries onward	Late-11th / 10th centuries onward	Early 9th century onward

Figure 11.20: Hazor's stratigraphy and chronology

2.2.2 Theories about the 13th century B.C. destruction

In spite of its magnificence, monumentality, high status and influence which substantiated its title as "head of all these kingdoms" (Joshua 11: 10), Hazor underwent a violent destruction sometime in the 13th century B.C. (Ben-Tor *et al.* 2012: 1). The debate has continued regarding when and who was responsible, and different theories include: Seti I c. 1300 B.C., Ramesses II c. 1275 B.C. (Rabinovich and Silberman 1998: 53); unknown parties c. mid-13th century B.C. (Yadin 1993: 603; Connor and Laboury 2017: 578, 596); or internal friction sometime between 1230-early 12th century B.C. as part of the LBA east Mediterranean collapse of civilization (Zuckerman 2007: 25; Cline 2014: 148).

Ben-Tor (Rabinovich and Silberman 1998: 53) disqualified certain suspects like other Canaanites (there were no nearby Canaanite city-states powerful enough to attack Hazor), or Sea Peoples (there was an absence of distinctive decorated pottery in Hazor at the time and it was much farther inland from other sites they were known to have conquered, i.e. Dor).

Some claimed it cannot be related to the process of early Israelite settlement in Canaan (Woolley 1955: 65), while others (Ben-Tor and Rubiato 1996; Ben-Tor 1998; Ben-Tor and Rubiato 1999; Ben-Tor and Zuckerman 2008; Ben-Tor 2013) did attribute it to nomads, semi-nomadic tribes that were later called Israelites, or to the appearance of the tribes of Israel. Ben-Ami (2001: 168) wrote, "… it seems that the chain of events that took place at Hazor at the end of the Late Bronze Age and during the Iron Age I is much more complex than previously thought."

2.3 Zorea Model Applied

2.3.1 Analysis

The analysis performed in the present work incorporates the Modified Israel Chronology (Lee *et al.* 2013: 731) as described below (Figure 11.21).

Conventional	***Modified Conventional***	***Low***
Iron IA (c. 1200-1140/30)	Iron IA (c. 1200-1140/30)	Late Bronze III (c. 1200-1140/30)
Iron IB (c. 1150-1000)	Iron IB (c. 1140/30-980)	Iron IB (c. 1130-920/900)
Iron IIA (c. 1000-925/900)	Iron IIA (c. 980-830)	Iron IIA (c. 920/900-800/780)
Iron IIB (c. 900-732/700)	Iron IIB (c. 830-732/701)	Iron IIB (c.780-732/701)

Figure 11.21: Israel chronology (after Lee *et al.* 2013)

Hazor was strategically located on the International Highway leading from Egypt to Syria, Mesopotamia, and Anatolia. As discussed in Chapter 6 (Tjeker), between early 12th century to c. 1130 B.C., Egypt may have utilized the inland/eastern branch to reach the northern branch of the International Highway (Figure 11.22). Until c. 1130 B.C., Egypt kept garrisons in Tel Dan, Megiddo and Beit Shean to support its commercial endeavors. According to Ilan (2019: 637) the Egyptian withdrawal may have been "simultaneous, and not a drawn-out process." Since these major sites surround Hazor, and given the city's strategic position along the International Highway, it seems feasible that Egypt may have been present in Hazor during that time as well.

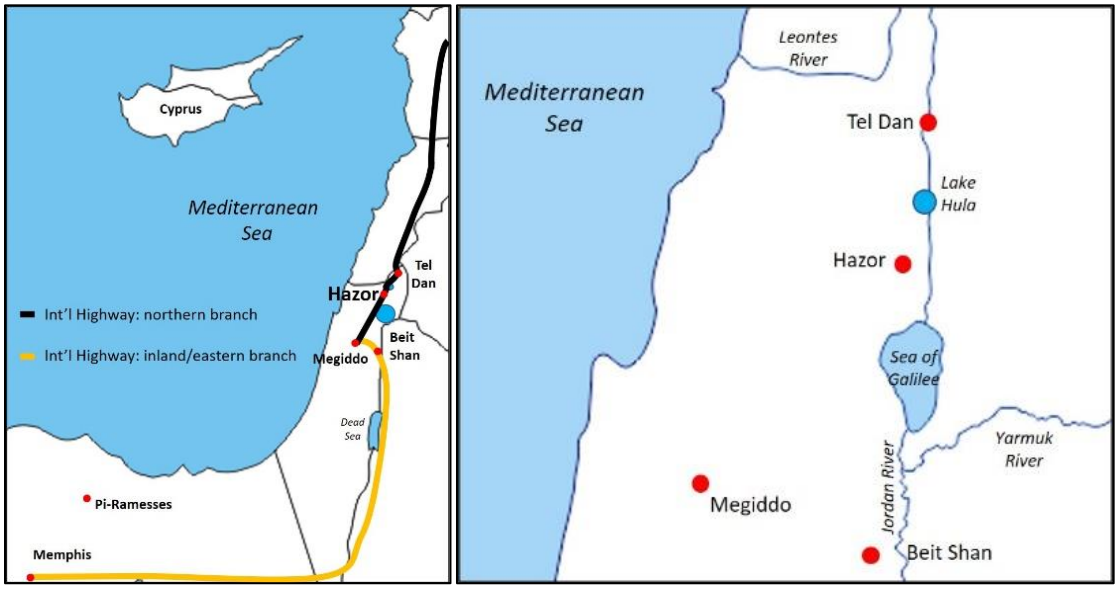


Figure 11.22: Hazor position in the Interntional highway

Whether Hazor was destroyed in the early-, mid-, or later-13th century B.C. is less significant to this study. I propose that subsequent to the city's destruction, Egypt may have maintained a light presence in Hazor in the late-13th century B.C. (e.g. Prehotep's statue) and continued into the 12th century B.C. It was another link in Egypt's network between Tel Dan in the north and Megiddo and Beit-Shean in the south. This light presence would explain the local-manufacturing of Egyptian objects in Hazor (Martin 2011: 590). Although there is no clear evidence of Egyptian presence at this time, there is no reason why Egypt would have abandoned Hazor before c. 1130 B.C.

However, the archaeological reports indicate that all Egyptians statues in Hazor appeared to have been deliberately smashed to pieces. Connor *et al.* (2017) noted intentional destruction including: the arms were carefully chipped away from fragments of statuary torso and skirt (*ibid.*, table 15.1:5; photo 15.9:1); the royal head was severed from behind the neck (*ibid.*, table 15.1:3; photos 15.1–15.5); the sphinx is missing its head and paws (*ibid.*, table 15.1:1; fig. 15.4). As Ben-Tor pointed out earlier, it is unlikely that Egyptians would have destroyed their own statuary. So who else would have done it?

Iron Age I Hazor stratum XII-XI can be compared with Tel Dan's strata VI and V (Ben-Tor *et al.* 2012: 24), Megiddo VIB and VIA, and Yoqneam XVIII-XVII (Zarzecki-Peleg 1997a: 284) (see Chapter 10: Jezreel Valley). Since these strata correspond to possible Sea Peoples/Tjeker presence, Hazor XII-XI might likewise reflect an Aegean presence (Figure 11.23).

Period	*Hazor*	*Tel Dan*	*Megiddo*	*Yokneam*
Iron I	XII-XI	VI-V	VIB-VIA	XVIII-XVII

Figure 11.23: Comparable strata (Hazor, Tel Dan, Megiddo, and Yokneam)

Whereas Ben-Tor (Rabinovich and Silberman 1998: 53) cited the absence of distinctive decorated pottery in Hazor, Stern (2000: 207) noted that "the renewed excavations at Hazor have found that although the Iron Age I levels are scanty, there is a sherd or two with the typical "Philistine" decoration (A. Ben-Tor, personal communication)."

The character of these and certain other objects found in Hazor differs from Canaanite, Egyptian or Israelite pottery. The pilgrim flasks, a zoomorphic vessel and even a pyxide with wavy decorations seem to be similar to contemporary finds in other Tjeker sites like Iron Age I Dor, Megiddo and Tell es-Sa'idiyeh. Flasks were typically large with a globular and somewhat lentoid body. It seems that two handles extended from the neck of the shoulder. The body is decorated with concentric circles in shades of dark red or reddish-brown, with no bi-chrome decoration. The only zoomorphic vessel uncovered to date in Iron I Hazor is a cultic object which shows the head of an animal (probably a bull). The miniature bowls uncovered in some of the pits may also belong to this category (Ben-Tor *et al.* 2012: 24, fig. 1.15:10-11) adding that a cultic use for these objects is particularly likely since its find-spot (pit L.8446) was very close to the cult area in stratum XII-XI.

2.3.2 Stratigraphy (per Zorea Model)

The Zorea Model proposes that the Tjeker who returned to northern Canaan c. 1130 B.C. may have encountered a small Egyptian presence in Hazor, conquered the site, destroyed Egyptian statuary and incorporated some of these fragments as building material in walls and fills of their small Iron Age village (Connor *et al.* 2017: 574).

Modeling Tel Dan's chronology, Hazor's small village may have lasted about thirty years. In c. 1100 B.C., a nomadic (Israelite?) group conquered Hazor, lived in tents and dug pits that disturbed earlier strata. That Hazor stratum XII-XI shared a similar pit density as Tel Dan stratum VI (Ilan 2008: 92-92, cf Finkelstein 1986; Ben-Ami 2001: 151-156) suggests that the same culture of nomads may have inhabited these two sites concurrently. This also helps explain the absence of urbanization in Hazor stratum XII-XI.

Unlike Yadin's presentation of two separate strata XII and XI, Hazor's new excavators combined them into a single stratum XII-XI. This seems somewhat similar to Tel Dan where excavators presented stratum V as a single stratum, and suggested a cosmopolitan presence of nomads/Israelites and Aegeans/Sea Peoples. Similar to Tel Dan's chronology, the Zorea Model adopts Yadin's original nomenclature that presents stratum XII and stratum XI separately, although with a few modifications to account for the separate presence of Tjeker and tent-and-pit nomads. Yahlom-Mack *et al.* (2014: 24, cf Ben-Tor 2008a; 2008b) noted that after Hazor's Late Bronze Age ceremonial Edifice 7050 was destroyed in the Late Bronze Age IIB, it experienced

an occupational gap, was reestablished as a humble village during Iron Age I, experienced another gap, and was refortified during Iron Age IIA. These various elements are depicted in the table below (Figure 11.24):

#	*Stratum*	*Dating (B.C.)*	*Occupied by*	*Findings*	*Outcome*
1	XIII	- c. 13th – 1130	Egyptians	- Egyptian objects	Conquered by Tjeker
2	XII	c. 1130-1100	Tjeker	- small village - Egyptian objects destroyed, used in walls and fills - Aegeanized finds in/around cult area (i.e. bull-headed vessel, pyxide)	Conquered by nomads
3	XI	c. 1100-later 11th	Nomads (Israelites?)	- Nomadic pottery - Pitting	Abandoned
		Gap c. later 11th - 980	n/a	n/a	
4	X	c. 980	Israelites	- New pitting - Subsequent urbanization	

Figure 11.24: Hazor's stratigraphy and chronology (after Zorea Model)

2.3.3 Conclusions

In the 13th century B.C., Egypt's Seti I campaigned into northern Canaan and established forts and administrative residences that linked different regions, such as East Galilee (Tel Dan) (see above, § 1. Tel Dan), Jezreel Valley (Megiddo) (see Chapter 10: Jezreel Valley), and Jordan Valley (Beit Shean, Tell es-Sa'idiyeh) (see Chapter 12: Jordan and Arabah Valleys). Egypt also quelled a 13th century B.C. Canaanite uprising in Hazor (which lies between Tel Dan, Megiddo and Beit Shean). While the new excavators found that the number of Egyptian objects in Hazor is surprising, it also seems to reaffirm an Egyptian presence (Martin 2011: 590), whether brought by a high-level royal (e.g. the statue left by Vizier Prehotep as he likely accompanied the Hittite princess on their way to Ramesses II in Pi-Ramesses) or made locally.

If Egypt maintained its network of garrisons in Tel Dan, Megiddo, Beit Shean and Tell es-Sa'idiyeh until c. 1130 B.C., it may have likewise continued its light presence in Hazor (Figure 11.25). When the Tjeker returned to northern Canaan in c. 1130 B.C. and destroyed the Egyptian network of garrisons, they may have destroyed Egyptian items in Hazor and used some of them as fill to construct the walls of their Iron Age I village.

	Tel Dan					*Hazor*				
#	*Str.*	*Dating (cent. B.C.)*	*Occupied by*	*Findings*	*Outcome*	*Str.*	*Dating (cent. B.C.)*	*Occupied by*	*Findings*	*Outcome*
1	VIIB	14th—13th	Canaanites	- Mycenaean Tomb 387 - "Dancer from Dan" terracotta	Destroyed by Egyptians	XIV	14th—13th	Canaanites		Destroyed by Egyptians
2	VIIA	c. 1270-1130	Egyptians	- Egyptian wares	Defeated by Tjeker	XIII	c. 13th—1130	Egyptians	Egyptian objects	Defeated by Tjeker
		c. 1130	**Destr.**				**c. 1130**	**Destr.**		
3	VI	c. 1130-1100	Aegean (Tjeker)	- Metal recycling - disruption from Stratum VB pits	Conquered by nomads	XII	c. 1130-1100	Aegean (Tjeker)	- small village - Aegean cult finds	Conquered by nomads
		c. 1100	**Fire?**							
4	VB	c. 1100-1050	Israelites / nomads	- Pits (some disrupted strata VI and VIIA)	Reconquered by Tjeker	XI	c. 1100-later 11th	Israelites / nomads	- nomadic pottery - disruptive pits	Abandoned
5	VA	c. 1050 -980	Aegean (Tjeker)	- Reuse and new construction - Dense housing - Few pits	Destroyed by massive fire		c. later 11th-980	n/a	abandoned	
		c. 980	**Destr.**							
6	VIB	c. 980 onward	Israelites	- New pitting - subsequent urbanization		X	c. 980 onward	Israelites	- New pitting - subsequent urbanization	

Figure 11.25: Comparative stratigraphy and chronology for Tel Dan and Hazor (after Zorea Model)

In addition to having Egyptian finds, Hazor XII-XI also had a few Aegean finds, various Israelite finds, as well as pits which the new excavators attributed to nomad-newcomers (Ben-Tor *et al.* 2012: 26). The use of pits was an Israelite practice and not an Aegean (Tjeker) one. There is still no consensus among researchers regarding the nature of these pits, despite their presence at numerous sites and the extensive literature (Ben-Tor *et al.* 2012: 25; cf Ilan 1999: 112-123 and references therein). However, like in Tel Dan (see above § 1. Tel Dan), Hazor's pits would have disrupted lower strata. Unlike the new excavators' label of a single stratum XII-XI, the Zorea Model adopts Yadin's discrete strata XII and XI, whereby XII is attributed to the Tjeker, and XI to the nomadic group.

Chapter 12: Jordan and Arabah Valleys

Egyptian finds in the Jordan Valley, Beit Shean and Megiddo suggest that Egyptian control in the north lasted through Ramesses VI c. 1130 B.C. (Finkelstein 2000: 162). As I will try showing in this chapter, the archaeological findings in sites like Beit Shean, Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, Deir 'Alla, and Tell el Mazar (Figure 12.1) would suggest that the Jordan Valley north of Wadi Zerqa was invaded in the later-12th century B.C. and that these invaders attacked and destroyed the Egyptian posts and garrisons.

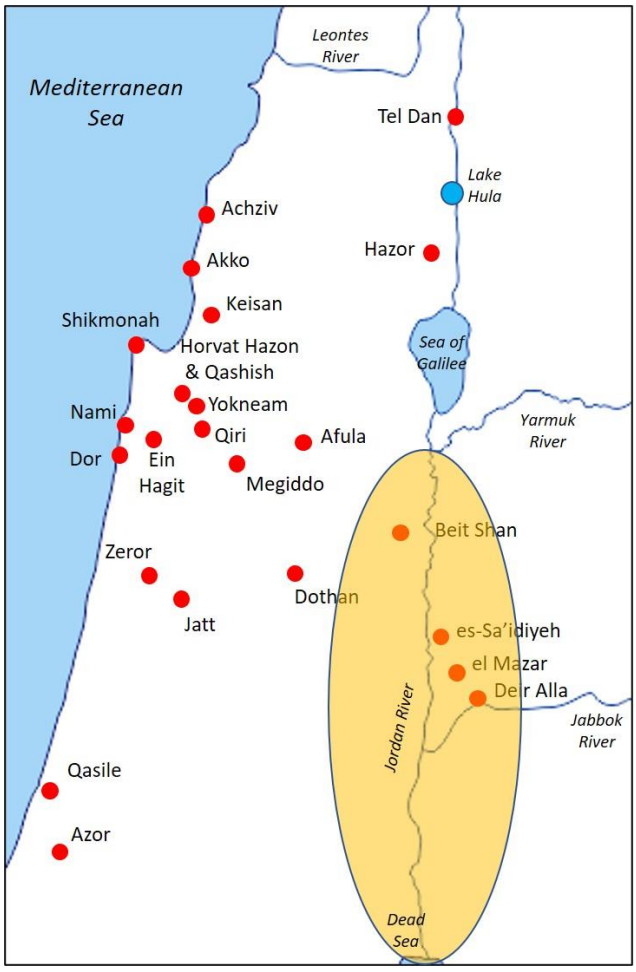


Figure 12.1: Map of northern Canaan, esp. Jordan Valley (Arabah Valley is south of the Dead Sea)

As discussed in the sections below, the newcomers were very advanced in metallurgy. After the transition, traditional pottery forms (e.g. bowls, trays, strainers, juglets and lamps) were subsequently reproduced in metal. Their skills applied to copper and bronze. Other peculiar characteristics that appeared were related to burial customs, such as Beit Shean's grotesque sarcophagi and Tell es-Sa'idiyeh's. Many bronze artifacts from the aforementioned Jordan Valley sites and elsewhere in Canaan were made with Feynan copper.

1. Beit Shean

Beit Shean is mentioned in the Old Testament books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles (Rowe 1930). It was located in a privileged location at the junction of northern Canaan's Jordan River Valley and Jezreel Valley.

Between 1921-1933, Beit Shean was initially excavated by the University of Pennsylvania under the direction of Fisher, Rowe and FitzGerald. Finds were published from the Late Bronze Age (James and McGovern 1993), the Iron Age strata (James 1966) and the the northern cemetery (Oren 1973). Excavations were resumed by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1983 in a short season carried out by Y. Yadin and S. Geva (Yadin and Geva 1986). A. Mazar directed excavations between 1989 and 1996 (Mazar, A. 1992c; 1993a; 2006; Mazar and Panitz-Cohen 2009). The excavations have revealed 18 successive ancient towns.

Pharaoh Thutmose III conquered Beit Shean in the 15th century B.C. and made it Egypt's regional administration center in northern Canaan (Mazar, A. 2010: 239). Over the next three hundred years, Beit Shean appears to have primarily included administrative officials and military personnel and a small palace for its Egyptian governor.

In the 13th and 12th centuries B.C., Beit Shean was the most important Egyptian garrison in the region. Its destruction sometime after the reigns of Rameses IV (d. c. 1149 B.C.) and Rameses VI (d. c. 1136 B.C.), perhaps around the same time as the destruction of Dothan and Megiddo (Zorea 2018b), signaled the end of Egyptian control in Canaan until Egypt returned in the 10th century B.C. (Mazar, A. 1997a: 62-7).

1.1 Findings

Metal objects, including weaponry, were found in the northern cemetery's tombs (Oren 1973: 101). For example, tomb T66 included two types of arrowheads and tomb T90 included a spear-butt, a dagger and four types of arrowheads (19 in all). These were dated to the LBA-Iron I transition and to Iron I (Oren 1973).

The cemetery also revealed some fifty clay coffins. Two coffins were found along with their lids intact, whereas the remainder of the evidence consisted of lid fragments. Since excavators discarded coffin fragments (Eran 2016), the actual number of anthropoid coffins in Beit Shean may have been even greater than reported.

Clay coffins date as far back as Egypt's First Dynasty. By the 18th Dynasty (1550-1292 B.C.), anthropoid clay coffins were common in Egypt (Oren 1973: 143-4). Their lids were "naturalistic" in that they had well-defined heads and facial features (Fisher 1923: 234). As of 2016, more than 130 complete and fragmentary anthropoid coffins from the Late Bronze Age and early Iron Age have been found within the borders of Canaan including: Deir el-Balah (Dothan, T. 2010), Lachish (Tufnell 1953: 219 pl.126), Tell el-Farah (South) (Petrie 1930: 6-8), Tel Shadud (Namdar *et al.* 2017: 726-733), Tel Midrash (nearby Beit Shean) (Eran 2016: 97-100), and Beit Shean (Oren 1973). The common denominator of these cities is that they all

encompassed Egyptian garrisons in the Late Bronze and early Iron Age. The vast majority of anthropoid coffins happened to be found in the two most important and largest garrisons, Deir el-Balah (75 coffins) in Philistia and Beit Shean (50 coffins) in northern Canaan (Eran 2016: 97-100). Those from Beit Shean's 11 tombs were dated to the 13th and 12th centuries B.C. (Oren 1973: 129-32; Mazar, A. 1993b: 218).

Beit Shean Tombs T66 and T99 also included a second type of anthropoid lid that was different from the corpus of anthropoid coffins in Canaan or Egypt (Dothan, T. 1982a: 274). Unlike the naturalistic lids, these five "grotesque" lids had exaggerated facial features and appliquéd decorations of warrior headdresses with beaded patterns (Oren 1973) (Figure 12.2). One depicted a fluted headgear with beads; another depicted a metal tiara with beads and a zigzag pattern, and the other three depicted metal tiaras and beads. Two grotesque lids were also found in the Philistine site of Deir el-Balah and another one in Tell el-Farah (South) (Mazar, A. 1992c: 279).

Figure 12.2: Anthropoid coffin with beaded patterns (after Oren 1973)

In addition, Beit Shean excavations have provided some Mycenaean IIIC1 vessels (Zukerman 2009: 501, fig. 7.2) (Figure 12.3) and a bronze bowl (Oren 1973: #38, fig. 41). Oren (1973) dated the bronze bowl to the first half of the 11th century B.C. T. Dothan (1982a) dated it to the 12th–11th centuries B.C.

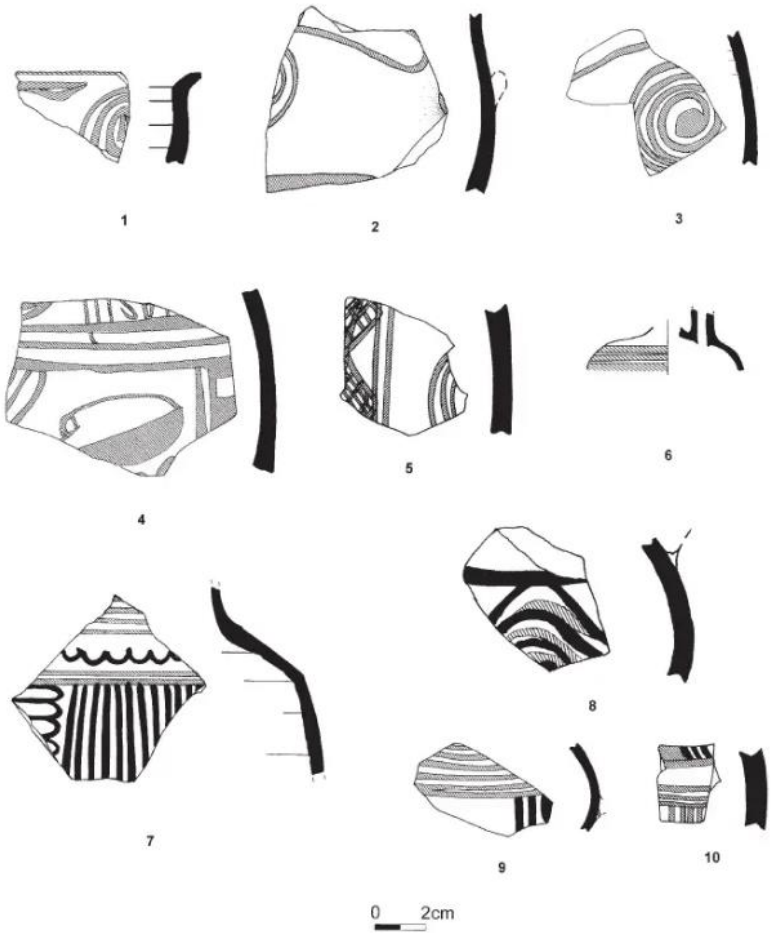
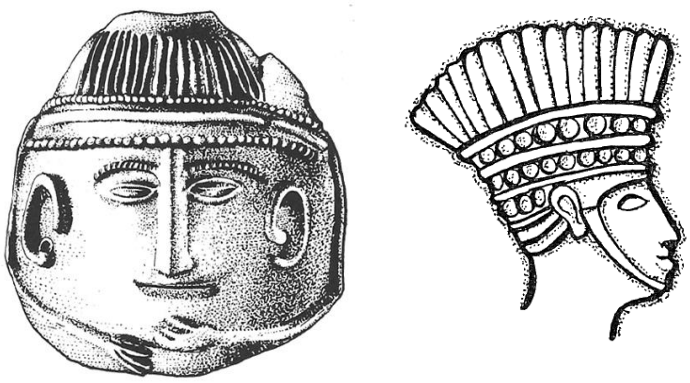


Figure 12.3: Myc IIIC sherds from Beit Shean Areas S and N (after Zukerman 2009)

1.2 Interpretations

Oren (1973: 146-150) suggested that Beit Shean's "naturalistic" coffins held the remains of 13th and first-half of 12th century B.C. Egyptian soldiers (corresponding to the tell's Level VII and lower Level VI). There were various opinions as far as to whom the "grotesque" coffin lids from tombs T66 and T99 belonged, including: to Egyptians (Brug 1985: 155); to Egyptian mercenaries who came from the seacoasts and islands of the eastern Mediterranean (Fisher 1923: 236; Vincent 1923: 437-441; Rowe 1927: 40-41; 1930: 2, 23, 39); or to Aegean Sea People (Stern 2000: 206; Emanuel 2015/2016: 5). Oren specifically attributed these to Denyen based on the iconographic affinities with representations of Sea Peoples headgear as depicted on the reliefs of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (Oren 1973: 130-131, 149; Dothan, T. 1982a: 268-275) (Figure 12.4). T. Dothan (1982a: 274-276) viewed the grotesque lids from T66 and T90 as contemporary to each other and dated them to the second half of the 11th century B.C.



(a) (b)

Figure 12.4: Aegean Headdress: (a) Anthropoid coffin with beaded patterns (after Oren 1973); (b) Sea People depiction from Medinet Habu (after Emanuel 2015/2016)

However, several scholars doubted that Philistines took over Beit Shean. Given the absence of Philistine pottery, perhaps these coffins belonged to other members of the Sea Peoples such as the Denyen or the Tjeker (Oren 1973: 130-131, 149). On the other hand, T. Dothan (1982a: 81-82) associated the Philistines with Beit Shean's Mycenaean IIIC1 vessels (Zukerman 2009: 501, fig. 7.2).

1.3 Zorea Model Applied

The headdress designs on the grotesque coffin lids are very similar to those of the Sea Peoples' shown on the walls of Rameses III's mortuary temple at Medinet Habu (Pritchard 1943: 39 figs. 1, 2). The bronze-bowl (Oren 1973: #38, fig. 41) (Figure 12.5) is an example of a Berzocana-type bowl and supports an Aegean presence (Zorea 2018b: 346-347; see Appendix: Bronze Bowl of Berzocana).

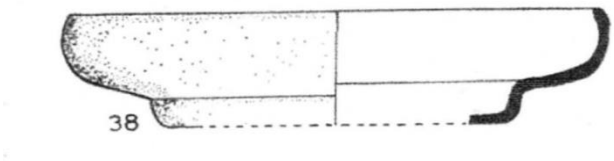


Figure 12.5: Beit Shean bronze bowl (after Oren 1973)

If Beit Shean was ruled by Denyen, there is no evidence to support such an assumption (Mazar, A. 1990b; see also Chapter 3: Denyen). Nonetheless, Beit Shean's Berzocana-type bowl, grotesque sarcophagi lids depicting Sea Peoples, and Mycenaean IIIC-1 ceramics do attest to the presence of Aegean elites (Tjeker), similar to parallel finds and chronologies in other sites of northern Canaan.

2. Tell es-Sa'idiyeh

Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, or biblical Zarethan (Mazar, A. 1992a: 401, note 21, 7), lies at the heart of the central Jordan Valley. It is located in modern Jordan, about 2 km east of the Jordan River and midway between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea. The mound occupied a key strategic position at the crossroads of major trade routes, accessing some of the richest and most fertile agricultural land east of the Jordan River.

Excavations were carried out by the University of Pennsylvania under the direction of J. Pritchard (1980) and later by the British Museum under J. Tubb (1991-1996) (Figure 12.6):

#	*Stratum*	*Date (century B.C.)*	*Occupied by*
1.	XII	12th	Egypt (and Sherden mercenaries)
	Destruction		
2.	XIB	Late 12th	Squatters (not Egyptians)
3.	Gap	Late 12th – mid-11th	none
4.	XIA	Mid-11th – early 10th	Sea Peoples
5.	X	Early 10th – mid-10th	Sea Peoples
	Destruction		
6.	IX	After mid-10th	Israelites (King David)

Figure 12.6: Tell es-Sa'idiyeh Strata XII-IX (after Tubb, personal communication)

2.1 Findings and stratigraphy

Stratum XII contained Egyptian objects and Egyptian-style architecture. The excavators indicated that it was not a large garrison and that it was destroyed by fire.

The first layer of Stratum XIB includes burnt mud brick, ash and carbonized timber dating to the late 12th century B.C. and represents the end of the regional Egyptian control. It was destroyed by Aegean Sea Peoples, but not by the Philistines (Tubb 2019: personal communication). The dating of the beginning of stratum XIB seems in line with the end of Egyptian presence in Megiddo and Beit Shean.

The excavators determined that squatters occupied the destroyed buildings similar to findings in southern Canaan (see Chapter 2: Philistines). The use of nearly identical pottery as the previous stratum suggests the reoccupation was immediate.

The water-system staircase at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Tubb 1998: 84, fig. 52) (Figure 12.7) has parallels only in the Late Age Bronze Aegean sites of Mycenae and Tiryns (which dates to c. 1200 B.C.; Hitchcock 2010: 206). Perhaps the Sea Peoples had a hand in the construction of the Aegean-style water system at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Tubb 1998: 106).

Figure 12.7: Water-system staircase at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (after Tubb 1998)

Stratum XIA (mid-11th – early 10th centuries B.C.) was characterized by the orange-brown mud bricks.

Stratum X (early to mid-10th century B.C.) included animal bones, a large proportion of which were pigs. Area AA also included a terracotta head (Tubb 1988: 37, fig. 12) with a tiara with zig-zag decoration that is reminiscent of Tjeker head-dress (see Chapter 6: Tjeker).

There were no signs of defensive walls on the lower mound where the Tell es-Sa'idiyeh cemetery was located. A roadway separated the main settlement from the graveyard and some 450 graves, many of which showed unusual Egyptian features, both in terms of the grave-goods and burial customs. The initial use of the cemetery is contemporary with Stratum XII (Tubb 2019: personal communication), and thus dates from the latter part of the 13th to the mid-12th centuries B.C. (Tubb 1988: 65).

The cemetery included 37 double pithos graves (some of women) (Tubb 1998: 98) and 52 jar burials of infants. The double pithos consisted of two large stores jars with their necks removed, joined shoulder to shoulder, to form a pottery coffin which contained the deceased, always a single individual extended on its back. It was set into a pit and grave goods were either placed with the body, or around the outside of the coffin, or occasionally both inside and outside the coffin. Generally, contents included Egyptian items like scarabs, jewelry, bronze knives and delicately carved ivory boxes, comparable with the rest of the cemetery.

Similar double-pithos burials, most from the 13th century B.C., have been identified elsewhere in Canaan (Tubb 1998: 99-100): one in Kfar Yehoshua (northwest of Afula) (Druks

1966: fig. 1), one in Megiddo (Schumacher 1908: 18, fig. 4), two in Azor from the 12th century B.C., some 60 in Tel Zeror, one in Tell el Farah (North), and one in Tell Nami (Tubb 1998: 100). One of Tell es-Sa'idiyeh's double-pithos graves (364A) included a pottery vessel typical of the well-known "ration-bowl" found in other Egyptian-controlled sites (Tubb 1998: 195 fig. 69).

These methods of jar and double pithos burial were totally alien to the Canaanite tradition and did not belong to any Aegean Sea Peoples. The presence of a significant number of double pithos burials indicates the presence of a sizeable alien element within the population and possibly implies a long-term relationship between these foreigners and the Egyptians. They were there "only because the Egyptians were there, and were needed to perform certain functions for the Egyptians. They could, of course, have been mercenaries… only the Sherden are specified in Egyptian texts as having served in this capacity." (Tubb 1998: 102). In other words, Tell es-Sa'idiyeh XII was likely controlled by Egyptians and their Sherden mercenaries (see Chapter 5: Sherden).

Alternatively, the practice of double pithos burials was "one of the most ubiquitous burial types of Hittite Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age" (Tubb 1998: 100). This 13th century B.C. period was also the time of the Pax Hittita-Aegyptica. Perhaps Hittite Anatolians had settled in these different Canaanite sites and were responsible for these burials.

Tell es-Sa'idiyeh also had many cemetery finds from the 11th century B.C. (Negbi 1974: 161) and 10th century B.C. (Mazar, A. 1992a: 401, note 21, 7). The burials in general were rich in bronze artifacts. One of the finds included a bronze bowl in an inverted position over the deceased's pelvic area suggesting it was used to cover the genitals. Bronze and iron weapons were frequently found to have been deliberately bent over, presumably as a burial ritual.

Other bronze finds included daggers, javelins and even arrowheads that had been bent almost double, reflecting a ritual "killing" of funerary gifts (Tubb 1998: 89). One of the long-tanged daggers revealed delicately-executed incised geometric decorations, extending along the mid-ribs of both faces (Tubb 1998: 97-100).

Other "pottery found during the course of the first three excavation seasons included store jars, jugs, juglets, flasks and bowls, and the repertoire contains a high proportion of imitations of Mycenaean vessels, pyxides, lentoid flasks, and stir up jars, made to a high standard, and based on the IIIB tradition" (Tubb 1988: 65). Similar to the altered metal finds, jugs and juglets in particular often had a small piece broken off the rim-pour spout and some had holes in their bases (Tubb 1988: 70).

The first and most interesting grave unearthed by Pritchard was Tomb #101 (1980: 10-11) (identified as #32 by Tubb 1988: figs. 49 and 50). It was lined with mud bricks and contained a single burial along with three extra skulls (Tubb 1998: 87). The southwest corner of the tomb included three bronze vessels and a strainer (Pritchard 1980: fig. 4: 15-18) beside a large storage jar with angular shoulders (Pritchard 1980: 84, fig. 47). One of the bronze vessels was a Berzocana-type bowl (see Appendix 1: Bronze Bowls of Berzocana). These items were "a set of vessels that belong together" (Pritchard 1980: 12)" or "a wine set" (Tubb 1988: 70, fig. 50; 1998:

88, fig. 55) (Figure 12.8). Pritchard and Tubb considered these Berzocana-type bowls as part of Aegean wine sets.

Figure 12.8: Tell es-Sa'idiyeh "wine set" (after Tubb 1988)

More Berzocana-type bowls were found in other nearby tombs (Figure 12.9):

#	*Tomb #*	*Description*	*Shape Parallel*
1.	T101/32	Unique decoration (inside and outside)	Tell Jatt
2.	T34	Classic Berzocana-type bowl	Multiple sites
3.	T46	Berzocana-type with a belly-button base	n/a
4.	T191	Classic Berzocana-type bowl	Multiple sites

Figure 12.9: Tell es-Sa'idiyeh: Berzocana-type bowls

Numerous graves included luxury goods and bronzes (e.g. tools, weapons, vessels and items of personal adornment such as bracelets, rings, pins and earrings) (Tubb 1988: 35). While Tubb attributed these objects to being Aegean, others did not (Negbi 1991, 1998). Tomb #101 had five pottery vessels, the most distinctive of which is a storage jar of unusually heavy reddish-brown ware, having a low neck, an angular shoulder, and two handles high on the body. Comparable jars were found in Megiddo Tomb 39 (Guy and Engberg 1938: pl. 69:1), Beit Shean VII or VIII (Fitzgerald 1940: 30: Pt. 2, Pl. 42:13 from room 1068), and Tell Qasile X (Mazar, B. 1964: Vol. I, no 7, fig. 7 lower left).

The tomb also included an imitation of a Mycenaean pyxis decorated with brown lines, a small ivory dish decorated with three incised lines around the edge and fitted with a sliding cover, a large bronze cauldron of hammered metal carinated in profile with a slightly flaring rim, and a bronze tripod supporting a bowl riveted to three prongs that extend upward. Tomb 101's bowls provide evidence of their artisans' metallurgic skills and craftsmanship.

The large bronze cauldron is generally known from Tiryns (Karo 1930: pl. 34:20), although the Aegean example is deeper and the handles are different. Like the bronze cauldron, the tripod with bowl is without parallel, although individual features, as the outside struts of the "rod" type and the animal feet with dowels, find their analogues in the catalogue of bronze tripods from the Aegean, Cyprus and the Levant (Catling 1964: 216-217).

2.2 Zorea Model Applied

The basic principles of the Zorea Model as applied to Tell es-Sa'idiyeh translate into the following chronology and stratigraphy table (Figure 12.10):

#	*Stratum*	*Date (century B.C.)*	*Occupied by*
1.	XII	12th	Egypt (and Sherden mercenaries)
	Destruction (c. 1130 B.C.)		
2.	XIB	Late 12th	Squatters (not Egyptians)
3.	Gap	Late 12th – mid-11th	none
4.	XIA	Mid-11th – early 10th	Sea Peoples (Tjeker)
5.	X	Early 10th	Sea Peoples (Tjeker)
	Destruction (c. 980 B.C.)		
6.	IX	After c. 980	Israelites (King David)

Figure 12.10: Tell es-Sa'idiyeh Strata XII-IX (after Zorea)

3. Tell Deir 'Alla

Tell Deir 'Alla is located about 8 km south of Tell es-Sa'idiyeh and 5 km east of the Jordan River. The Jerusalem Talmud (Shevi'it 9:2) says that "Sukkot" is Dar'ellah (Joshua 13:27). A team from the Netherlands, directed by H. Franken (1960; 1961; 1962; 1964a; 1964b; 1964c; 1969) from the University of Leiden, started excavating the site in 1960.

A faience vase with the cartouche of the Egyptian queen Tausret was found in the destruction layer of an early 12th century B.C. temple (Franken 1961). According to Franken, the temple was destroyed by an earthquake and was not rebuilt.

Franken suggested that Deir 'Alla's Iron Age inhabitants may have been semi-nomads that used the area during the rainy period for herding, seasonal agriculture, and metalworking. He further suggested that copper ore was imported from the south (Arabah's mines), and energy supplies from the north (Gilead's forests).

Deir 'Alla included an Iron Age I metalworking furnace, remains of furnaces, blowpipes and other paraphernalia associated with metalworking (Franken 1969: 21-22). The excavators

dated the metalworking area to the Early Iron Age. Other finds included several clay-house models (Franken 1961: 365, pls. 6-7; 1964a: pl. X:a) as well as Mycenaean pottery and a small bronze armor plate. However, the sherds of 12th/11th century B.C. "Philistine" bi-chrome that were reported in the metalworking areas might modify the dating of those areas accordingly (Artzy 2006b: 84). To account for this later chronology, Artzy added that Deir 'Alla may have used Feynan copper (and not Timna copper whose mines were abandoned in the mid-12th century B.C.). This aligns with the Tjeker conquest of northern Canaan from the Egyptians c. 1130 B.C. and subsequent production of bronze works using Feynan copper (see below § 5. Feynan and Chapter 13: Material Culture).

4. Tell el Mazar

Tell el Mazar is located in modern Jordan in the middle of the Jordan Valley. It is located about 6.5 km south of Tell es-Sa'idiyeh and 3km north of Deir 'Alla. Yassine (1984: 76) directed three seasons of excavations with the University of Jordan (1977, 1979 and 1981). In 1977 the cemetery of Tell el Mazar was found in an area located only 220 m to the west of the main tell (Schaa 2012). The cemetery, which formed a mound, consisted of Iron Age I architectural debris, dating between the 11th and mid-10th centuries B.C. Yassine (1984:78) confirmed that the Iron Age strata of Tell el Mazar correspond to the stratigraphy of Tell Deir 'Alla (see Chapter 13: Material Culture).

Tell el Mazar included a rectangular open court sanctuary measuring 24 m x 24 m, dated to the 11th–10th centuries B.C. The building walls were constructed of mud-brick and the outer walls measured 1.20 m thick. In addition, no earlier constructions were found at the site. Yassine (1984) labeled this structure as a temple similar to parallels in Beit Shean Phase VI (temple storage areas), but the lack of any temple floor plan led Van der Steen to consider it a large farmhouse (cf Yassine 1984: 73-93, 115-135; Homes-Fredericq and Hennessy 1989b: 381-384; Van der Steen 2004:45-46).

A bronze bowl and strainer were also reported in Tell el Mazar (Franken 1960: 389), which Negbi (1991: 205, 230-231) linked with Beit Shean tomb 90's partial wine serving set, as well as other partial wine sets in Dothan, Lachish, Nami, Ajul and Farah (South).

Perhaps Tell el Mazar was the site between biblical Zarethan (Tell es-Sa'idiyeh) and biblical Succoth (Deir 'Alla) where Hiram, the Tyrian architect that built Solomon's Temple, cast the Temple vessels (1 Kings 7: 45-46):

45 And the pots, and the shovels, and the basins, and all these vessels, which Hiram made for king Solomon (in) the house of the Lord, (were) of bright copper.
מהוְאֶת־הַסִּירוֹת וְאֶת־הַיָּעִים וְאֶת־הַמִּזְרָקוֹת וְאֵת כָּל־הַכֵּלִים אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה חִירָם לַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה בֵּית (כתיב הָאֱהֶל)הָאֱלֹהִים יְהוָה נְחֹשֶׁת מְמֹרָט׃

46 In the plain of the Jordan did the king cast them, in the thick clay, between Succoth and Tsarethan.
מוּבְכִכַּר הַיַּרְדֵּן יְצָקָם הַמֶּלֶךְ בְּמַעֲבֵה הָאֲדָמָה בֵּין סֻכּוֹת וּבֵין צָרְתָן׃

5. Feynan

The Feynan mines are located in the northern Arabah Valley, south of the Dead Sea. The Khirbat en-Nahas project included extensive mapping and C^{14} dates of samples from stratified excavations and showed that Feynan copper mines were an active working area since at least the 11th century B.C., if not earlier (Levy *et al.* 2002). Researchers, led by archaeologists T. E. Levy from the University of California San Diego and E. Ben-Yosef from Tel Aviv University, conducted chemical and microscopic analyses on more than 150 samples of securely-dated pieces of slag excavated in Timna (southern Arabah) and Feynan (northern Arabah, just southeast of the Dead Sea) and dated them to the mid-11th century B.C.

"It was also known that, as the Iron Age dawned, the vacuum that the Egyptians left was quickly filled by local nomadic tribes. These tribes increased the scale of copper production and perfected its methods," explained Ben Yosef (David 2019). The researchers linked these findings to the Edomite Kingdom, implying the existence of the Edomites 300 years prior to what was previously thought (Ben Yosef *et al.* 2019). Ben Yoseph added: "The withdrawal of the Egyptians at the end of the Bronze Age gave the tribes in the Arabah the chance to unite and create political power" and "The accepted paradigm in archaeology that nomads at the time could not create anything politically significant is incorrect." Similarly, the renewal of copper production in the Feynan region may have been a by-product of the rising Edomite state (Levy *et al.* 2004).

Disagreements as to the settlement pattern in Edom in the earliest part of the Iron Age have been the subject of debate between Bienkowski and Finkelstein (Bienkowski 1992a, b; Finkelstein 1992). Finkelstein doubted such an early link between Edom and Feynan/Timna given that the complex Edomite political entity which transformed nomadic tribes into sedentary settlements throughout the region, and as described in extra-biblical texts such as of the Assyrian king Adad Nirari III, started in the late-9th century B.C. (Finkelstein 2005b). "Can a tribal territorial formation without urban centers be described as a kingdom?" asked Finkelstein.

The archaeological findings, including Berzocana-type bowls, around the Jordan Valley support the presence of Sea Peoples, and in particular Tjeker. Like the bowl of Berzocana, many of the objects found in Tell Jatt, Tel Zeror, Megiddo, Achziv (Artzy 2006b: 86) and probably Tell es-Sa'idiyeh included copper from the Feynan mines (Ben-Yosef *et al.* 2019; Wood *et al.* 2020: 6-8). Alloys in Khirbet edh-Dharih, Jordan, also included Feynan copper (Klein and Hauptmann 1999: 1079). These findings reinforce the likelihood that the Tjeker manufactured bronze bowls and other objects in Beit Shean, Megiddo and Dothan using tin from the western Mediterranean and copper from Feynan. With Egypt absent from Canaan and the Edomite Kingdom yet to coalesce in the 11th century B.C., it stands to reason that Tjeker demand helped fuel the steady production of Feynan copper.

Chapter 13: Material Culture and Innovations

The Tjeker were warriors, metallurgists, traders, and maritime specialists. Regarding findings in the Tjeker capital port-city of Dor, Sharon and Gilboa (2013: 395) wrote:

> One reading of the archaeological record of the site in this respect put forward and argued by the first director of the project (e.g. at; 1991; 1995 and most decisively 2000b) is that the aggregate of Aegean, Aegean looking and Philistine-looking objects and attributes found at Dor in the Iron I should be identified as representing "Sikilian" material culture and consequently that similar phenomena in other sites in northern Israel should be interpreted as the material manifestations of other "Non-Philistine Sea Peoples."

Stern (2013: 64) added that, in principle, locations along the Yarkon River such as Aphek, Jaffa, Tel Gerisa, Tell Qasile and even Azor served as "meeting places" between the two Aegean groups (Philistines and Tjeker) and that some objects previously attributed to the Philistines were reclassified as Tjeker (see Part II: Introduction and Chapter 9: Dor, Carmel Ridge and Sharon Plain, esp. Tell Qasile).

The Tjeker introduced several innovations in northern Canaan between c. 1130-980 B.C., several of which would be adopted or modified by the Phoenicians in the 10th century B.C. (e.g. ashlar construction, ship-design, cist tombs, silver cupellation, iron-works). The following categorizes only some of the findings in northern Canaan that have ties to the Aegean and Cyprus, and which archaeologists like Stern, Raban, Stieglitz, A. Mazar, E. Mazar and Artzy have identified as representative of Tjeker material culture.

1. Seafaring

1.1 Rigs, crow's nest, and ship design

The boat depictions found in Cyprus and Canaan (Artzy 2013: 338, fig 4) (Figure 13.1) reaffirm that seafaring was crucial to the Sea Peoples. Several of these ship designs are also reflected in the Medinet Habu depictions of the naval battle between Egypt and the Sea Peoples c. 1175 B.C. Yasur-Landau (2010) extensively analyzed these and other similar ship designs and attributed them to the Sea Peoples.

Although Raban and Stieglitz (1991: 36) identified several maritime innovations in both Egyptian and Sea Peoples vessels, they attributed them to the Sea Peoples. The most important one was the revolutionary rig because the sail was loose-footed, free of the traditional inflexible lower yardarm, could tack into the wind and navigate under unfavorable conditions (Raban and Stieglitz 1991: 36) (Figure 13.2). According to Casson (1971: 37) it was not an Egyptian invention because it is not attested in the region prior to 1200 B.C. The crow's nest, portrayed atop the masts, enabled the ship to identify enemy's vessels or targets.

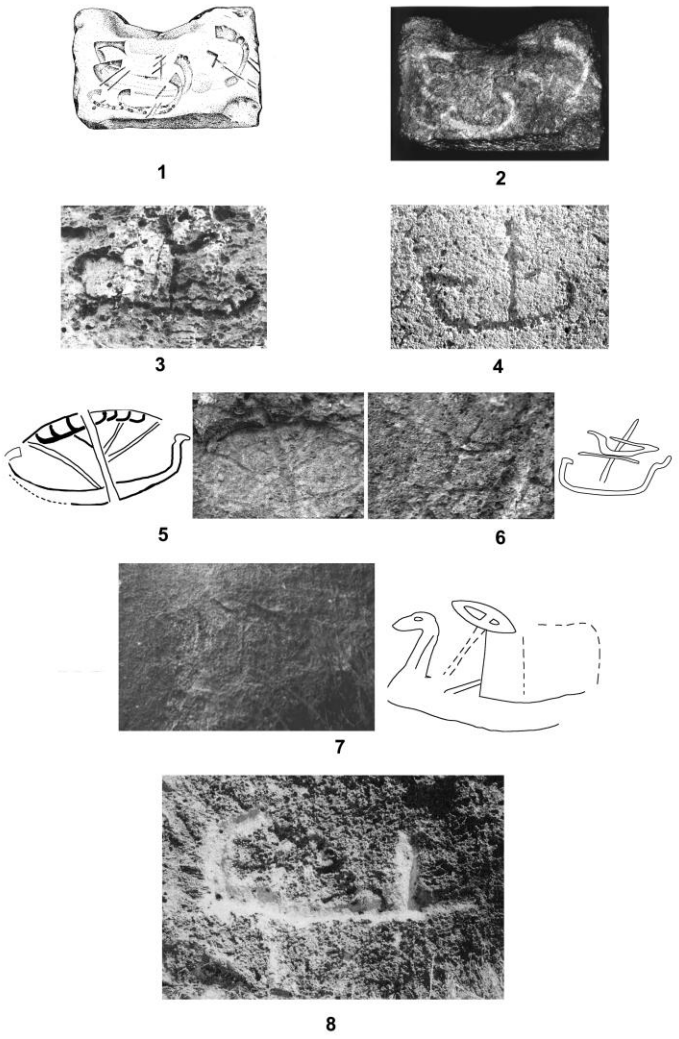


Figure 13.1: Compilation of boats found in the Carmel Coast and Cyprus (not to scale).
1–2) "Fan" boats from altar, Tel Akko; **3)** "Fan" boat from Nahal Me'arot; **4)** "Fan" boat from altar, Temple IV, Kition; **5)** "Birdhead" boat from Nahal Me'arot; **6)** "Birdhead" boat from Nahal Me'arot; **7)** "Birdhead" boat from Nahal Oren; **8)** "Aegean type" boat from Nahal Me'arot (after Artzy 2013)

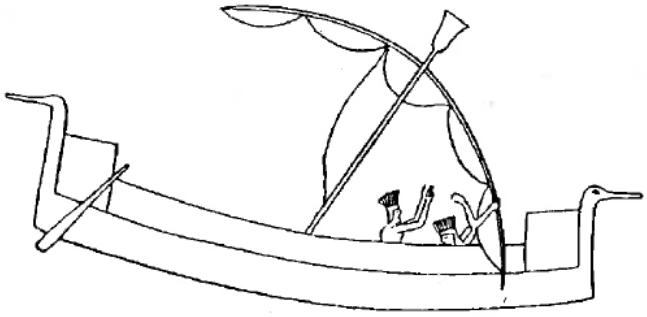


Figure 13.2: Sea Peoples vessel (after Raban and Stieglitz 1991)

According to Raban and Stieglitz (1991: 40), the ships of the Sea Peoples also served as prototypes for the Phoenician ships nearly two centuries later, known as *hippos* (by the Greek).

1.2 Composite anchor

The earliest anchors were stone blocks with a single hole through which a rope was passed, like those found in the late-14th century B.C. Uluburun shipwreck (see Chapter 1: Introduction). "Composite anchors" emerged in the 13th–12th centuries B.C. and had additional holes (usually two) into which wooden flukes were inserted to help "catch" the ground (Raban and Stieglitz 1991: 40) (Figure 13.3). These anchors provided better mooring for a vessel in muddy or sandy sea-bottoms than a simple stone weight. Parallels were found in Ugarit and its harbor, Minet el Beida (in northern Syria), in Kition (Cyprus), and in Dor (northern Canaan) (Raban and Stieglitz 1991: 40).

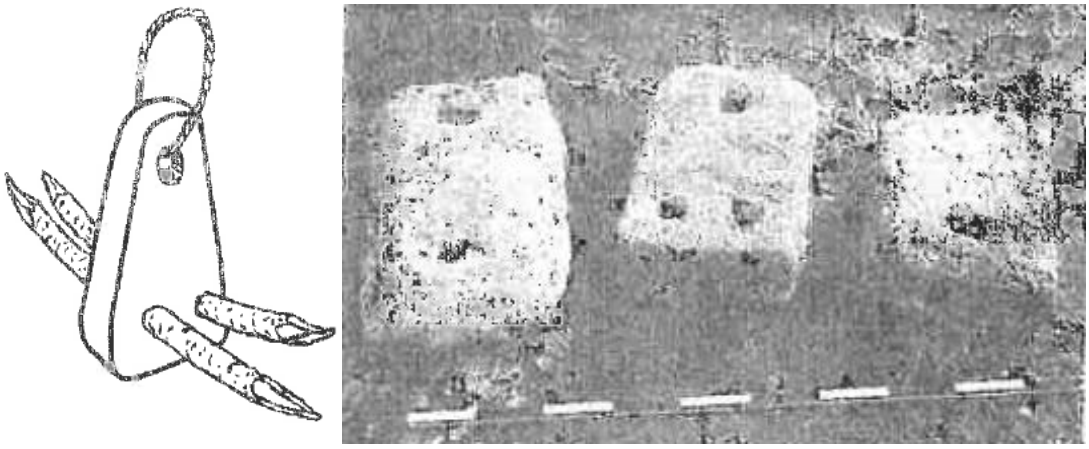


Figure 13.3: Composite anchor (after Raban and Stieglitz 1991)

2. Ashlar-stone construction

2.1 Building architecture

A new architectural element appeared in 13th century B.C. Levant, especially at the coastal site of ancient Ugarit (Ras Shamra), that used a squared, smoothly trimmed stone building block called an ashlar. It was attributed to a new ethnic element called the "Ashlar builders" (Schaeffer 1983).

Sometimes the ashlars were decorated with a marginal draft which is a smoother edge. Similar ashlar blocks were found south of Ugarit (i.e. Ras Ibn Hani), Cyprus (i.e. Enkomi, Kition and Maa-Palaikastro) and Dor as part of religious and secular buildings (Raban and Stieglitz 1991: 37).

Comparable Tjeker buildings in 12th–11th centuries B.C. Canaan strengthen the notion of their widespread presence. Wolff (1998: 451) compared the building in Ein Hagit to Megiddo stratum VI building 2072 (cf Loud 1948: 37, fig. 83; Kempinski 1989: 83) (Figure 13.4), Tell Keisan stratum 9 building (cf Briend and Humbert 1980: 198-199, fig. 51-52) and others in Hazor, Tell Umeiri and Tell Fukhar. Harrison (2004: 19) expanded the list of similar building to include Yoqneam stratum XVII structure 3035 ("Oil Maker's House") (Ben-Tor *et al*. 2005: 19, 22-27) and possibly a number of buildings in Tell Qiri stratum VIII Area D (Ben-Tor and Portugali 1987: 80-86).

Figure 13.4: Megiddo Building 2072, ashlar construction (after Harrison 2004)

2.2 Quays

Dor included 12th centuries B.C. ashlar buildings and seaside quays (Raban 1985). Instead of using the previously built harbors, the Tjeker built new ashlar quays from the shore to connect to openings in the city fortifications. Arkin Shalev *et al.* (2019: 450, cf Raban 1995: 337, 339, Gilboa *et al.* 2015: Table 2) reaffirmed Raban's ideas about the use of ashlar header techniques in the Early Iron Age. This technique was subsequently adopted by 9th century B.C. Phoenicians as attested in the quays of Tabbat el-Hammam (Syria) and later in Tyre, Akko and Atlit in northern Canaan (Raban and Stieglitz 1991; Haggi 2006).

2.3 Tombs

Ashlar stones were used in tomb construction in Aegean-influenced sites such as Ugarit, Enkomi, Achziv, Akko and Tel Zeror. Later in the 10th and 9th centuries B.C., this type of construction became the hallmark of Phoenician architecture on the Canaanite coast. (See Chapter 7: Cyprus and Ugarit, Chapter 8: Akko Bay and Valley, Chapter 10: Dor, Carmel Ridge and Sharon Plain).

2.4 Wells

Tel Dor also included a rectangular well built with ashlar blocks (Raban 1987: 123) (Figure 13.5). Archaeological findings indicate that it went out of use after the city was rebuilt c. 1050 B.C. (see Chapter 9, esp. Tel Dor). The best parallel for this kind of well can be found in the 12th century B.C. Tjeker-Cypriot settlement of Hala Sultan Tekke and an even older parallel in Kato Zakro (Crete) (Raban and Stieglitz 1991: 38). Raban and Stieglitz further proposed that Sea Peoples brought this innovation of the rectangular ashlar well from Cyprus to Dor.

Figure 13.5: Rectangular well built with ashlar blocks in Dor (after Raban 1987)

3. Weapons and tools

3.1 Iron blades and ivory knife handles

Iron-knives were found in Tell Jatt (Artzy 2006b: pl. 14:1, fig. 2.8: 3) (Figure 13.6), Megiddo and Beit Shean (Sherratt 1994; Mazar, A. 2006: 494-496) and are likely from Cyprus (Stern 2013, cf Dothan, T. 1989a: 115-163; 2002: 14-23) as many parallels were found especially in Enkomi.

Two knives with ivory handles were unearthed in Dor. This choice of material was exclusive to the Sea Peoples (Stern 2000a: 349; Matskevich 2003). The closest parallels were found in Tell Qasile and Ekron (Stern 2013: 60, fig. 62) (Figure 13.7). These findings in Tjeker strata/sites reflect the Tjeker's introduction of iron in the region (Muhly 1982; Muhly, Maddin and Karageorghis 1982).

Figure 13.6: Iron knives (Tell Jatt) (after Artzy 2006b)

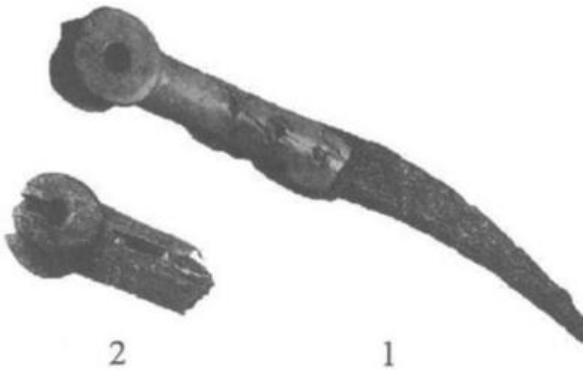


Figure 13.7: Ivory-handle knives (1. Ekron, 2. Dor) (after Stern 2013)

3.2 Bronze objects

According to Stern (2000b: 206), "Certain bronze objects, such as a double-axe, two axe-adzes, and shafted spearheads, may also be related to the Sea Peoples." Eleventh-century B.C. shafted spearheads were found in Megiddo VI and Tel Zeror (Ohata 1970: pl. LXIII 6-7), Achziv Tomb 1029 (Prausnitz 1997: 22; Edrey *et al.* 2018: fig. 9:2) and Tell Jatt (Artzy 2006b: 60-61). Double axes are known from Crete and Cyprus (Catling 1964; Miron 1985; Artzy 2006b: 60-62).

Parallels from the 11th century B.C. were found in Megiddo stratum VIA (four double axes), Achziv (Tomb 1029) and the Tell Jatt hoard (Prausnitz 1997: 22-23; Artzy 2006b: 60-62, 95; pl. 14:1, fig. 2.8: 2-3, J-74, J-53) (Figure 13.8). Several tools, likely locally-made, were found in Tjeker Dor Area G Phase 10, including a bronze knife and a bronze pick blade (Stern 2013: 59).

Figure 13.8: Tell Jatt double-ax and knives (after Artzy 2006b)

3.3 Bronze lamps

The Tel Zeror cist-graves contained bronze goods and a special type of oil lamp with a closed nozzle, comparable to the one found in Tell Jatt (another Tjeker location) from the 11th century B.C. (Yannai 2002: 27:56; Artzy 2006b: pl. 6: J-83:4) (Figure 13.9).

Figure 13.9: Bronze lamp (after Artzy 2006b)

4. Other contributions

4.1 Incised signs and literacy

The Tjeker were literate and used an Aegean-type syllabic linear script closely related to the Cypro-Minoan systems (Stager 1991). Several Cypro-Minoan script subtypes are now well attested from various Late Bronze Age sites in Cyprus. The composite anchors described above have Cypro-Minoan signs incised in them (Raban and Stieglitz 1991: 39), indicating that the vessels owners were closely associated with Cypriot culture. Cypro Minoan-like signs also appeared on many of the copper and tin ingots of the Late Bronze Age (see Chapter 14: Tjeker in Iberia; Berger *et al.* 2019).

Jar handles inscribed in Cypro-Minoan were mostly produced around Akko and Dor in the 12th century B.C. (Stern 2013: 61). Other inscriptions were found in 11th century B.C. seals from Megiddo stratum VIA, Tell Keisan stratum IXC, Akko (Keel 1994) as well as tablets from Tell Deir Alla (Franken 1964c: 368; Stern 2013: 61).

4.2 Clay loom weights

Pierced-cylinder weights are of Aegean tradition (Stern 2013: 62, fig. 65) and parallels were found in Megiddo stratum VI building 20172 (“palace”) (Harrison 2004: 59-60 and 196 fig. 33), Tell Keisan (Briend and Humbert 1980: 315-321) and Tell Qasile stratum X (Shamir 1994: 35-42) (Figure 13.10). These are unique to the Tjeker and are different from Philistine “spoolweights” (Stern 2013: 62, fig. 65; cf Rahmstorf 2003, 2005; Mazow 2006-07; Yasur-Landau 2009).

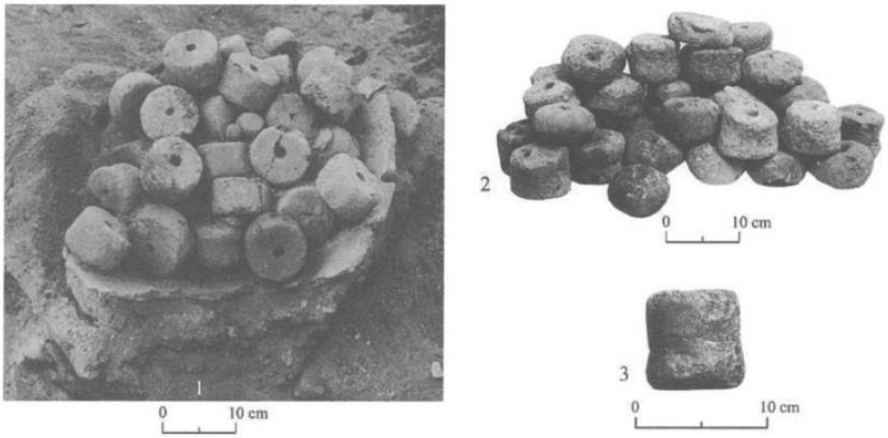


Figure 13.10: Loom weights of Northern Sea Peoples (1: Megiddo VIA, 2: Tell Qasile X, 3: Megiddo VIA) (after Stern 2013)

4.3 Silver cupellation

Tell Keisan's silver hoard supports the presence of Tjeker. It was found in the courtyard of a domestic complex in stratum IX Area B, L-365. Various archaeologists and metallurgic experts independently analyzed the content of this hoard and unanimously concluded that its ingots, sheets, wires, rods, jewelry and more dated to the 11th century B.C. (Thompson and Skaggs 2013; Eshel *et al.* 2014; Wood *et al.* 2019). Wood *et al.* (2019: 26) concluded that the 11th century B.C. hoard may have originated in Iberia, and since this predates the Phoenician presence in Iberia that "the Phoenicians may not have been the protagonists of the first exchanges" (see Chapter 8: Akko Valley, esp. Tell Keisan).

The 11th century B.C. happens to coincide with intense maritime activity between the East and Western Mediterranean, warrior steles in Extremadura and Andalusia (see Part III), the bronze bowl of Berzocana (Cáceres) (about 300 km north of Rio Tinto) (see Appendix; Zorea 2018b), and Iberian findings in Amathus, Cyprus and Achziv, Canaan (see Chapter 7: Cyprus and Ugarit; Chapter 8: esp. Achziv). As previously discussed in Chapter 7: Cyprus and Ugarit, "the prospectors, miners, smelters, and refiners of Iberian silver in the Early Iron Age (ca. eleventh century BCE) potentially derived their expertise from mining and extracting the silver from the jarosite ores of Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age" (Wood *et al.* 2020).

The early 10th century B.C. silver from King David's enemies may have included Iberian silver from the "northern Philistines", or Tjeker, and Cilician silver from the southern Philistines. In the 12th–11th centuries B.C., the Tjeker had the military, metallurgical, and maritime backgrounds and expertise to connect Iberia, the Aegean, Cyprus, and Canaan (see Chapter 6: Tjeker, Chapter 7: Cyprus and Ugarit, and Chapter 15: Tjeker in Iberia).

4.4 A new type of jar

Raban and Stieglitz (1991: 41) referred to maritime amphora associated with the Sea Peoples and which had early 12th century B.C. parallels in Tel Akko, Tel Dan, and Tel Dor (Figure 13.11). These neckless jars had very strong shoulders and thick walls, suited to withstand the stresses of sea trade.

Figure 13.11: Neckless conical jar from Dor (after Raban and Stieglitz 1991)

5. Burials

5.1 Graves and grave finds

Tel Zeror (see Chapter 9) was located between the Tjeker sites of Dor and Tell Jatt. Its 11th century B.C. citadel and cist-graves may have belonged to the Tjeker (Kochavi 1993: 1525). Such cist graves share Aegean origins and older parallels are found in Cyprus and Ugarit. Tel Zeror's early cist-graves are also attributed to the same people who settled in Achziv (Mazar, E. 2001: 157) which would reinforce the Tjeker's presence in Achziv.

5.2 Pottery bath

The pottery baths in Dor (Stern 2013: 57) and in Megiddo stratum VIA (Harrison 2004: pl. 21.1) (Figur 13.12) have parallels in the Aegean and Cyprus (Karageorghis 2000: 266-274). A. Mazar (2007: 84) has attributed them to the Sea Peoples.

Figure 13.12: Megiddo VIA pottery bath (after Harrison 2004)

5.3 Gold plates and plaques

The Aegean-type gold-plates found in early Iron Age Megiddo (stratum VI, cave 39) (Harrison 2004: pl.28.2, 4-5) (Figure 13.13) resemble the gold-mouth pieces found in one of the Beit Shean anthropoid coffins (Rowe 1930; Oren 1973: 76, pl. 39:2) (see Chapter 12). Cypriot tombs also contained narrow gold strips which, depending on their size, were used as diadems, mouthpieces or other funerary ornaments (Graziadio 2013: 346).

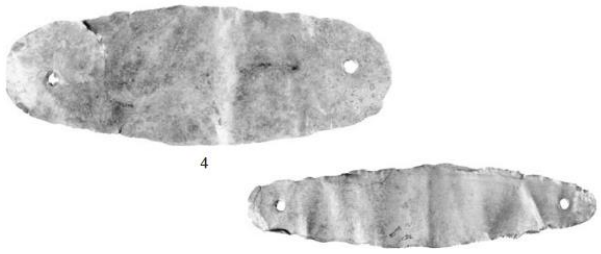


Figure 13.13: Megiddo stratum VI gold plates (after Harrison 2004)

5.4 Berzocana-type bronze bowls

Forty-two Berzocana-type bowls were identified in burial sites and tombs in the Levant: 34 in Canaan and 8 in Cyprus, dating from c. 1200 B.C. to c. 950 B.C. Although the Appendix presents an assemblage of 37 bowls (Zorea 2018b), the author has since identified five more including one (1) from Achziv and four (4) from Tell es Sa'idiyeh.

If Berzocana-type bowls were objects of Aegean origin, and Tell Jatt's burial site signified a Tjeker presence, it is reasonable that tombs in northern Canaan and Cyprus with similar material culture and a Berzocana-type bowl were also Tjeker.

Tjeker tombs in Cyprus in Gastria-Alaas on the east coast, Kouklia-Skales and Amathus in the south, and Lapethos in the north indicate that the Tjeker favored coastal sites around the island (see Appendix: Bowl of Berzocana).

6. Cult objects

6.1 Anthropomorphic clay objects

Anthropomorphic clay objects that were attributed to the Sea Peoples included figurines and jars. M. Dothan (1955) attributed them to Mycenaean-Cypriot prototypes. Several figurine parallels were found in Enkomi and elsewhere on the island (Karageorghis 1993: pls. XVII: 1, XVIII and XIX). An 11th century B.C. anthropomorphic figurine was found in the Jezreel Valley in Afula stratum IIIA (Stern 2013: 44, cf Dothan, M. 1957: 141-142, fig.15:19, pl. VI: 1).

Identical copies of a vessel in the shape of a woman holding on her head a krater adorned by a continuous zig-zag were found in Amathus (Cyprus) tomb 521 (c. 1050-950 B.C.) (Karageorghis and Iacovou 1990: 83, pl.VII) and Dor and the "similarity doesn't seem to be accidental" (Gilboa 2006-2007: fig. 1:1 note 19:227).

Other c. 11th–10th centuries B.C. anthropomorphic jars were found in Dor (depicting a human male figure with slanted shape eyes) and Tell Qasile (Stern 2000a: 347 fig. 245) (Figure 13.14); Tell Keisan (Briend and Humbert 1980: pl. 102:1); Yokneam (Ben-Tor 1993: 810); Mount Carmel (Aharoni 1958: 138); Beit Shean (Panitz-Cohen and Mazar 2009: 534-538); and Megiddo (Zarzecki-Peleg 2005: fig. 42:13).

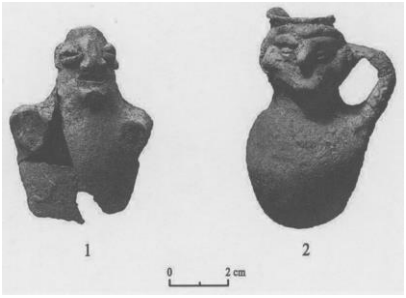


Figure 13.14: Anthropomorphic juglets connected with the Sea Peoples (after Stern 2000a)

6.2 Zoomorphic vessels

Yon (1994) claimed that the zoomorphic objects found in Canaan were inspired by earlier Mycenaean and later Cypriot prototypes. Megiddo stratum VIA included several zoomorphic vessels (Harrison 2004: pl. 22:8) (Figure 13.15). Tjeker Dor included a 12th/11th century B.C. locally-produced bull-shaped clay libation vessel painted with a red purple net in a typical Cypriot monochrome decoration (Stern 2006: 391, fig. 4:a; Stern 2013: 20). It is very similar to the one found in Tell Abu Hawam stratum V (Hamilton 1935: fig.248) and parallels in Ekron strata VII and V (Ben-Shlomo 1999: 17-19, pls. 1-2; 2008: 27 fig.2.2). Yon (1994) claimed that these objects were inspired by earlier Mycenaean and later Cypriot prototypes. Other sites with zoomorphic vessels of a bull included Hazor stratum XII-XI and Tel Dan (Ilan 1999: 96, pl. 81:5).

Figure 13.15: Megiddo zoomorphic vessel (after Harrison 2004)

Dor also included a decorated lion-headed rhyton, or drinking vessel, with parallels in Philistine sites (i.e. Ashdod, Tel Miqne/Ekron); Yarkon River border sites (i.e. Tell Qasile, Tel Gerisa); as well as in Tel Zeror, another Tjeker holding (Dothan, T. 1982a: 229-234; Mazar, A. 1980: 101-103; Herzog in Stern 1993: 483; Loud 1948).

While clay lion-headed cups mostly with Mycenaean IIIB style decorations were found in Cyprus and Ugarit (see Chapter 7), Tel Zeror, and Megiddo (Red and Black on a whitish slip), Zuckerman (2008: 121) noted that:

> "In the 12th–11th centuries BC, after the collapse of the Late Bronze Age palatial system, similar LHCs were found in Philistine/Sea-People cultural contexts in the southern Levant (Mazar 1980, 101–3; Maeir 2006). These Iron I cups are sometimes interpreted as depicting lionesses rather than lions and have been seen as attributes of an Aegean-derived goddess, maybe the Philistine deity Dagon (Maeir 2006, 340–42)."

A fragment of such a cup was found in Dor and lioness-shaped faience cups have also been found in Tell Abu Hawam and Hazor (Zuckerman 2007: 119).

6.3 Thin ivory works

Dor phase B1/10 included an 11th century B.C. ivory plaque featuring a bull goring a lotus flower, a Cypriote motif based on very common Late Bronze Age Mycenaean art (Stern 2001: 405; 2013: 47) (Figure 13.16).

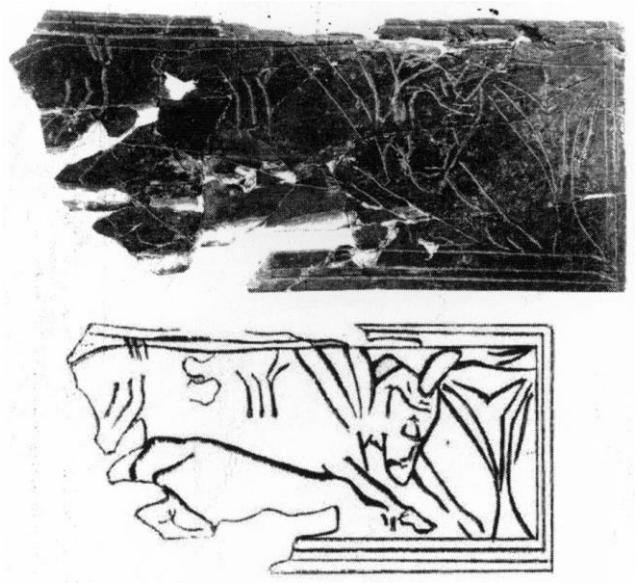


Figure 13.16: Tel Dor: ivory plate of bull and flower (after Stern 2001)

The handle of an ivory cosmetic box in Megiddo stratum VIA included a similar motif (Loud 1948: pl. 204 3; Harrison 2004: pl. 28:7). Many other plaques have been found in Canaan (Ben-Shlomo and Dothan 2006).

6.4 Gold bull earrings and jewelry

Dor phase D2/10 included a late 11th century B.C. gold piece of jewelry with an image of a bull (Basat 2011: pl. 8:15; Stern 2013) (Figure 13.17). It could be a Cypriote-styled earring manufactured either in Cyprus or most probably in Canaan (Åström 1972: 502- groups 6 and 7). Such items are familiar in Cyprus, especially the 13th century B.C. pair of earrings from an

Enkomi, Cyprus grave (Basat 2011: 65, cf Karageorghis 1991: pl. 35). The depiction of bulls also appears on wall "brackets" in Cyprus and northern Canaan (see next section).

Figure 13.17: Gold piece of jewelry in shape of bull from Dor (after Basat 2011)

6.5 Clay wall brackets

Clay wall brackets were cult objects used in Cyprus and they were also manufactured in Tiryns, Greece in the late LHIIIB1 until the early LHIIIC (Schlippak 2001: pl. 30.51:12; Maran 2004: 13) (Figure 13.18). Parallels in northern Canaan were manufactured locally during the 12th–11th centuries B.C. and were absent in the 10th century B.C. after the Tjeker were ousted by the Israelites.

Figure 13.18: Cyprus clay wall bracket with head of bull (courtesy of Metropolitan Museum)

Petrographic analysis of the Megiddo stratum VI finds indicates that several were manufactured locally and one came from a region north of the Carmel (Panitz Cohen 2006: 625). Other parallels were found in Beit Shean (strata VII and lower VI), Yokneam (stratum XVII), Tell Keisan (stratum 9C) and a small fragment in Dor (Stern 2013: 49).

6.6 Clay stands

Dor Area G included two cultic vessels typical of the Sea Peoples (Stern 2013: 52) (Figure 13.19): a ceramic incense burner on a square stand with human figures and a clay chalice decorated with a red stripe and two horizontal handles on both sides (Mazar, A. 1980: 87-89, fig. 23; pl. 32; Dothan, M. 1993: 29). Cult stands likely originated from Cyprus, and developed as part of an 11th century B.C. artistic trend along the coasts and the Jezreel Valley (Mazar, A. 1980: 250).

Figure 13.19: Clay stands from Dor and Tell Qasile (after Stern 2013)

6.7 Bovine scapulae

Bovine scapulae with incised decoration of parallel lines along the upper edge were used as musical instruments. They were found in the northern regions and locations like Tjeker Dor (Stern 2013: 53) (Figure 13.20), Kabri, Tell Abu Hawam, Tell Kinrot, Megiddo and Tanach (Zukerman *et al.* 2007: 69-73) as well as in the southern region (Ekron) (Webb 1985: 326-327; Dothan and Gitin 1990: 28; Sherratt 1994: 86-87). According to Zuckerman (2007: 69-73) this cultic object may be connected to the Kition sanctuaries in Cyprus.

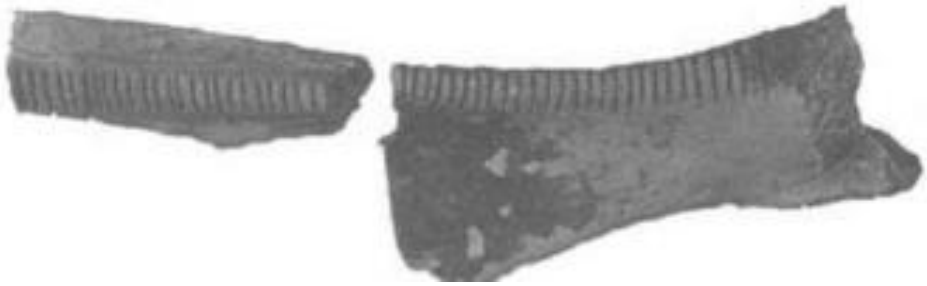


Figure 13.20: Cow scapulae from Dor (after Stern 2013)

6.8 Cylinder seals

A "common style" cylinder seal was found in Dor (Stern 2013: 54) (Figure 13.21) with parallels from around Cyprus. It was originally dated as Late Bronze Age (Porada 1948; Mazar, A. 1978: 13), and later re-dated to the 12th or even early 11th century B.C. given the closer and more contemporary parallels in Hala Sultan Tekke and Enkomi (Stern 2013: 54).

Other Cypriot cylinders found in Tell Abu Hawam strata V and IV represent Cypriot-Sea People (Hamilton 1935: nos. 217 and 245).

Figure 13.21: "Common style" cylinder seal in Dor (after Stern 2013)

7. Pottery

Pottery finds in northern Canaan with Aegean or Cypro-Aegean motifs are generally attributed to the Sea Peoples. Analyses have shown that much of the Mycenaean IIIB ceramic wares which appear in the Levant in the 13th century B.C. were produced in Cyprus (Artzy 2005). At the turn of the 13th/12th centuries B.C., northern Canaan sites like Dor had Aegean wares, and part of Tel Akko functioned as a center for Aegean-style craft production (see Chapter 8: Akko Valley and Plain).

By the late 12th century B.C., according to Stern (2000b: 206), "locally made Mycenaean III C1b" pottery is considered a benchmark for the presence of Sea Peoples (cf Dothan, T. 1982a: 295; 1989; Dothan, M. 1986; Kempinski 1985). Some common painted features of the repertoire in Tjeker Dor and other northern Canaan sites include depictions of bulls, spirals, concentric circles, triangles, zig-zags, and wavy lines (Raban 1991: 20, fig. 2; Gilboa 2009: 83, cf #5: Loud 1948: pl. 10:74; #6: Tomb 877, Guy and Engberg 1938: pl. 9:13; #10: Dothan, T. 1982a: Ch. 3 fig 7:27; #11: Loud 1948: pl. 12:86; Stern 2011: 406) (Figure 13.22), several of which are reminiscent of Cypriot finds (Mountjoy and Hommsen 2015).

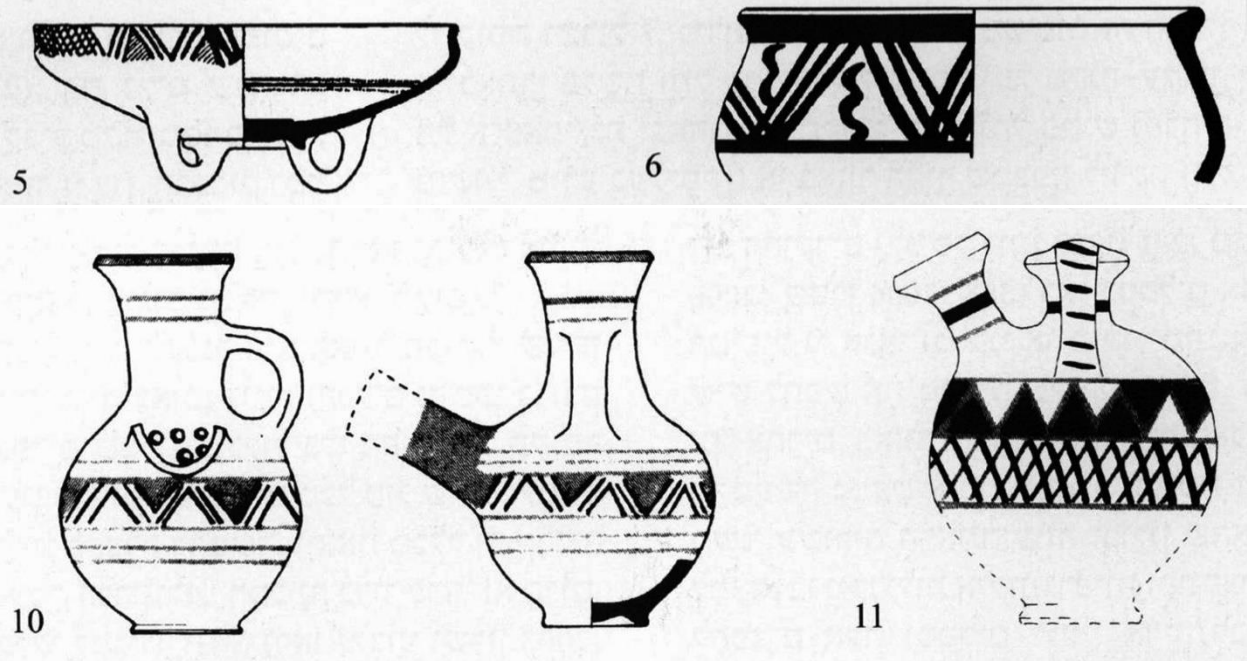


Figure 13.22: Tjeker pottery in Megiddo stratum VI (after Guy and Engberg 1938; Loud 1948; Dothan, T. 1982a; Gilboa 2009)

Dor included a late 12th – early 11th century B.C. pottery assemblage with parallels in Tell Keisan (stratum 9c or 10) (Stern 2000b: 198-99; Humbert 1993: 864) and Ein Hagit (Artzy 1998). Several Tel Zeror finds have parallels in Tell Jatt and some "Philistine-type" (Tjeker) pottery (Dothan, T. 1982a: 69).

A huge pithos decorated with wavy lines was found in Dor, likely of foreign origin and probably from Cyprus (Taylor 1957: 56-58; figs. 29:35g-362; Åström 1972: 26; type IEa; fig. LXXII: 16: 264; Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983: 113-115; Karageorghis and Demas 1984: 34, pls. XXI-XXIV; Pilides 2000: 5-16).

It is also apparent that 12th century B.C. Mycenaean-type wares (particularly in the form of small stirrup jars), previously associated with the Greek mainland, were actually produced locally and well after the imports ceased. Similarly, excavators also found jugs they thought were of Mycenaean ceramic tradition, and then realized they were actually imported from Cyprus, of Late Cypriote IIIB (1100-1050 B.C.) and Cypro-Geometric I traditions (Gilboa and Sharon 2003: n.6). These culturally Aegean objects from Cyprus reinforce the concept of a Tjeker presence in this region.

One of the most common pieces of Tjeker pottery are the monochrome decorated pilgrim flasks with concentric circles (Gilboa and Sharon 2003: 10, fig. 5:5) (Figure 13.23) found in Tell Keisan, Tell Abu Hawam, Dor, Afula (Stern 2013: 35, fig.12); Achziv (Edrey *et al*. 2018: 162, fig. 8, Tombs 1029 and 1015); Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Pritchard 1980: figs. 14, 18, 27, 31, 40, 43, 54, 56, 66) and Hazor (Ben-Tor *et al*. 2012: 23).

Figure 13.23: Monochrome decorated pilgrim flask from Dor (after Gilboa and Sharon 2003)

8. Cross-geography

It is commonly accepted that Dor was a Tjeker town as attested in the Tale of Wenamun (Muhly 1984: 39-55; Brug 1985; Sandars 1985; Raban 1987: 118-126; Dothan and Dothan 1992; Aubet 1993; Stern 1993: 357-368, 1995, 1996, 2000b: 197-212, 2010). In many cases, similar findings (such as graves, and/or objects) have been found in Tjeker Dor and in other sites in Canaan, Cyprus, and the Iberian Peninsula and reinforce a Tjeker presence in those other sites. Some of the parallels described above are summarized below (Figure 13.24 and Figure 13.25).

#	*Finding(s)*	*Site*	*References*
1	Iron knives	Dor Tell Qasile Tell Jatt Megiddo Beit Shean	Sherratt (1994) Stern (2000a: 349) Artzy (2006b: pl. 14.1) Mazar, A. (2006: 494-496)
2	Berzocana-type bowls	Tell Jatt Tel Aczhiv Beit Shean Dothan Megiddo Tell es-Sa'idiyeh Azor	Oren (1973: 216, fig. 41 item 38); Pritchard (1980: fig. 4:15-18) Gershuny (1985: pl. 3:35, pl. 4:48-49,51, pl. 5:68) Tubb (1988:70, fig. 50) Dothan, M. (1989a: 169) Matthäus (2001) Artzy (2006b: 28-29, 56, fig. 2.1:6-10, J-35-39, -41, -70) Edrey *et al*. (2018: 162, fig. 8, Tombs 1029)
3	Bronze oil lamp	Tell Jatt Tel Zeror	Yannai (2002: 27-56)
4	Double ax	Megiddo Tell Jatt Tel Achziv	Prausnitz (1997: 22) Artzy (2006b: 80)
5	Spearheads	Megiddo Tel Zeror Tel Achziv Tell Jatt	Ohata (1970: pl. LXIII 6-7) Prausnitz (1997: 22) Artzy (2006b: 60-61)
6	Gold plaques	Megiddo Beit Shean	Rowe (1930) Oren (1973: 76, pl. 39:2) Harrison (2004: pl.28.2, 4-5)
7	Cist tombs	Tel Achziv Tel Zeror	Kochavi (1968a) Artzy (2006b: 80)
8	Anthropomorphic jars	Dor Tell Keisan Yokneam Mt. Carmel Beit Shean Megiddo	Aharoni (1958: 138) Briend and Humbert (1980: pl. 102: 1) Ben-Tor (1993: 810) Stern (2000a: 347 fig. 245) Zarzecki-Peleg (2005: fig. 42:13) Panitz-Cohen and Mazar (2009: 534-538)
9	Lion(ess)-headed rhyton	Dor Tel Zeror Tell Qasile	Dothan, T. (1982a: 229-234) Mazar, A. (1980: 101-103) Stern (1993: 483)
10	Pilgrim flasks with concentric circles	Dor Tell Keisan Afula Achziv Tell es-Sa'idiyeh	Pritchard (1980, figs.14, 18, 27, 31, 40, 43, 54, 56, 66) Stern (2013: 35, fig.12) Edrey *et al*. (2018: 162, fig.8, Tombs 1029 and 1015)
11	Pithos (maritime amphorae)	Dor Tel Akko Tel Dan	Raban and Stieglitz (1991)
12	Pottery Assemblage	Dor Tell Keisan Ein Hagit	Humbert (1993: 864) Artzy (1998: 77) Stern (2000b: 198-99)

Figure 13.24: Examples of parallels in different sites in Canaan

#	*Finding*	*Canaan*	*Cyprus*	*References*
1	Bone ring-shaped handle of an iron knife	Dor	Cyprus	Sherratt (1994: 68-71)
2	Berzocana-type bowls	Tell Jatt Tel Aczhiv Beit Shean Dothan Megiddo Tell es-Sa'idiyeh Azor	Gastria Alaas	Matthäus (2001: 175)
3			Kouklia-Skales	Matthäus (2001: 175) Karageorghis (1983)
4			Amathus	Schauer (1983: 179,182) Niemeyer (1984: 8-9) Alvar (1988: 434) Burgess (1991: 26) Mederos (1996a: 105) Matthäus (2001: 175)
5			Lapethus	Schauer (1983: 179,182) Niemeyer (1984: 8-9) Alvar (1988: 434) Burgess (1991: 26) Mederos (1996a: 105) Matthäus (2001: 175)
6			Hala-Sultan	Mederos (1996a: 105) Oren (2000: 265)
7			Kition	Matthäus (2001: 175)
8	Bovine scapulae (used as a musical instrument) with incised decoration along the upper edge with parallel lines	Dor	Cyprus	Webb and Karageorghis (1985: 326-327) Dothan, T. (1990: 28) Sherratt (1994: 86-87)
9	A vessel in the shape of a woman, holding on her head a krater adorned by a continuous zig-zag	Dor	Amathus (Tomb 521)	Karageorghis and Iacovou (1990: 83, pl. VII) Gilboa (2006-2007: fig. 1:1 note 19:227)
10	Mycenaean IIIC stirrup jar	Tell Keisan	Kouklia	Oren (2000) Gunneweg and Perlman (1994)
11	A huge pithos decorated with wavy lines	Dor	Cyprus	Taylor (1957: 56-58; figs. 29: 35g-362) Åström (1972: 26; type IEa; fig. LXXII: 16: 264) Dothan and Ben-Tor (1983: 113-115) Karageorghis and Demas (1984: 34; pls. XXI-XXIV) Pilides (2000: 5-16)

Figure 13.25: Examples of parallels in Canaan and Cyprus

9. Conclusion

By the late 13th century B.C., while Egypt still controlled Canaan, various groups of Sea Peoples were reaching Cyprus. According to A. Mazar, "the 'Achaeans' of Cyprus and the 'Sea Peoples' are in fact part of the same group of peoples and that the settlement at both Cyprus and the Levant is part of the same historical process" (Mazar, A. 1988: 256) of the "emigration of 'Mycenaeans', probably Greek-speaking groups, from the Aegean regions" (Mazar, A. 1985b: 105). Raban and Stieglitz (1991) agreed that the Sea Peoples were in Cyprus long before their battles with Egypt c. 1175 B.C.

In the early 12th century B.C., some of these Sea Peoples reached Canaan. One of these groups, known as the Philistines, took over the south, including the coastal portion (western branch) of the International Highway (Via Maris), into what later historians would call Philistia. Meanwhile, a portion of another group of Sea Peoples in Cyprus, known as the Tjeker, made their way to western parts of northern Canaan until they were defeated by the Egyptians in the Battle of Djahi c. 1175 B.C. (attested by the Medinet Habu reliefs). While Tjeker survivors retreated to Cyprus where they would regroup and rebuild, some of the regions they had inhabited in northern Canaan (i.e. Dor) remained abandoned for nearly half a century.

In c. 1130 B.C., the Tjeker returned from Cyprus to northern Canaan, defeated the Egyptians in their inland (eastern branch) garrisons of the International Highway. These Tjeker settled in various sites and made Dor their capital (as attested by the Tale of Wenamun). After c. 1050 B.C., the Tjeker spread to other parts of northern Canaan.

An extensive analysis of the archaeological finds from the past century revealed several interesting conclusions. Northern Canaan experienced intra-regional similarities. For example, sites in the Jezreel Valley had more in common with each other than with other regions; and ivory bowls were limited to more interior sites like Tel Dan, Megiddo, Beit Shean, and Tell es-Sa'idiyeh). Chapters 7-12 discussed many finds that support the Tjeker presence in northern Canaan (from Dor to the Jordan Valley, and from Achziv to the Yarkon River). Some of these items can be considered Tjeker markers, whether bronze works made of Feynan copper (i.e. Berzocana-type bowls, juglets, arrowheads) or pottery (i.e. pilgrim flasks, etc.).

Compared to the mid-12th century B.C. period of coastal abandonment following the Battle of Djahi, the late 12th–10th centuries B.C. reconnected the coastal and interior regions of northern Canaan. The Tjeker migration from Cyprus to Canaan in c. 1130 B.C. would lead to the introduction of considerable innovation and technological advances to the region (e.g. ashlar harbor construction, ashlar quays, composite anchors, pierced cylinder loom weights, iron weapons, sophisticated metal processing, silver-metal processing and importation from Iberia). The maritime innovations offered greater trade and commercial opportunities. For about 150 years, the Tjeker in Cyprus and northern Canaan would go on to reach distant locations across the Mediterranean exerting great influence on metal trading, processing and manufacturing. They produced advanced bronze objects, were likely responsible for cupellating and importing Iberian silver, and helped introduce iron works into northern Canaan. In the years that followed, many of these traditions and practices, or variations thereof, would spread to other nearby regions.

The stratigraphy and chronology for a few of these sites in northern Canaan is summarized below (Figure 13.26).

Date (century B.C.)	*Akko*	*Dor*	*Tel Zeror*	*Tell Qasile*	*Tell Keisan*	*Tel Dan*	*Megiddo*	*Tell es-Sa'idiyeh*
Late 13th - 1175	- Sea Peoples	§G11 - Sea Peoples	- nomads/ Israelites --- §12 - Sea Peoples	n/a	- Abandoned?	§VIIA Egyptian	§VIIA Egyptian	§XII Egyptian
c. 1175 Battle of Djahi	**c. 1175 Battle of Djahi**	**c. 1175 Battle of Djahi**	**c. 1175 Battle of Djahi**					
c. 1175 – 1130	- tell abandoned	- Abandoned - Chronological gap	- Abandoned	(NEW site) §XII Philistines	§13 c. 1150–1130 - some Canaanites			
	- Area Ph (anchorage) not destroyed - some Canaanites							
c. 1130 Destruction				**cont**	**c. 1130 destruction**	**c. 1130 destruction**	**c. 1130 destruction**	**c. 1130 destruction**
c. 1130 – 1100		§G10 Tjeker	§11 Tjeker	§XI Philistines	§12 Tjeker	§VI Tjeker	§VIB Tjeker and Canaanites	§XIB squatters
c. 1100 – 1050	- Areas K and P: Sea Peoples	§G9a Tjeker			§11/§10 Tjeker	§VB nomads		Gap/ abandoned
c. 1050 Destruction		**c. 1050 destruction**	**cont**	**cont**	**c. 1050 destruction**	**c. 1050 destruction**	**cont**	**n/a**
c. 1050 – 980		§G8 Tjeker	§10 Tjeker	§X Philistines/ Tjeker	§9a-b Tjeker	§VA Tjeker	§VIA Tjeker and Canaanites	§XIA Tjeker §X
c. 980 destruction		**c. 980 destruction**	**c. 980 destruction**	**c. 980 conquered**	**c. 980 destruction**	**c. 980 destruction**	**c. 980 destruction**	**c. 980 destruction**

Figure 13.26: Stratigraphy of select sites across northern Canaan (LBA – Iron I)

PART III:
Sea Peoples in Iberia

Chapter 14: Tjeker in Iberia

Some small Tjeker contingents arrived in Iberia at the beginning of the 12th century B.C. Their strategy was not one of colonization (like the 8th century B.C. Phoenicians). In Cyprus, some of them organized in small metal centers where bronze was processed (see Chapter 7). The Tjeker reached the North-Atlantic Iberia to find tin they could bring back to Cyprus.

To confirm their presence in Iberia, the *nostoi* about Teucer and findings like the engraved boats in Pontevedra, the ax of Muros, adzes and other tools will be discussed below. The use of articulated spits, the presence of tin ingots from Britain with Cypro-Minoan scripts in Canaan, the findings in Amathus, Cyprus and the Iberian silver found in Canaan, will be also presented.

1. Teucer: legend or reality?

Following the Trojan War, the founding of Salamis and the Battle of Djahi, it was clear to the Tjeker and their leaders that there was an immediate need for tin to develop bronze weapons and prepare their army for the next invasion of Canaan to defeat the Egyptians and take over the Via Maris.

According to Strabo (*Geog.* III.4.3) and Justinus (44.3.2), Teucer came to Iberia with a group of Greeks landing first in New Carthage (present Cartagena). Philostratus (*Vit.Appol.* V.1) wrote that Teucer's golden belt was exhibited in the Temple of Heracles in Gades. Teucer proceeded through the Atlantic towards Galicia where alluvial tin was available (Mederos Martín 2019a: 36). Strabo (*Geog.* III.4.3) wrote:

> "After this city, comes Abdera, which is itself a place founded by the Phoenicians. Beyond the regions in question, in the mountain country, Odysseia is to be seen, and in it the temple of Athene, as has been stated by Poseidonius, Artemidorus, and Asclepiades the Myrlean, a man who taught grammar in Turdetania and has published an account of the tribes of that region. According to Asclepiades, shields and ships' beaks have been nailed up in the temple of Athene as memorials of the wanderings of Odysseus; and some of those who made the expedition with Teucer lived in Callaicia, and there were once two cities there, of which one was called Hellenes, and the other, Amphilochi."

Some authors (Garcia Iglesias 1979: 135, 140) put in doubt the reliability of these *nostoi*, but in light of several archaeological findings in the last decades the role of the *nostoi* may be revisited.

2. Engraved boats (Auga dos Cebros, Oia, Pontevedra, Galicia)

The most accessible area from the sea and the main source of obtaining alluvial tin in the Iberian Peninsula was Galicia (Mederos Martín 2019a: 36) with extensions to Tras-os-Montes, the Beiras, Salamanca and Cáceres, highlighting the mining basins of Noya (La Coruña), Lalín (Pontevedra), Carballo (Orense), Verín (Orense), La Gudiña (Orense) and Viana del Bollo

(Orense) (Obermaier 1923: 37-39, fig. 3; Monteagudo 1950: 2; Vázquez Guzmán 1983: 46-49; Gonzalo Corral and Gracia Plaza 1985: 280 fig., 281-283; Merideth 1998; Comendador *et al.* 2014).

Three boat engravings have been located in Auga dos Cebros (Oia, Pontevedra, Galicia) (Mielke 2011) (Figure 14.1), about 45 miles south of present Pontevedra. What can be learned from these engravings?

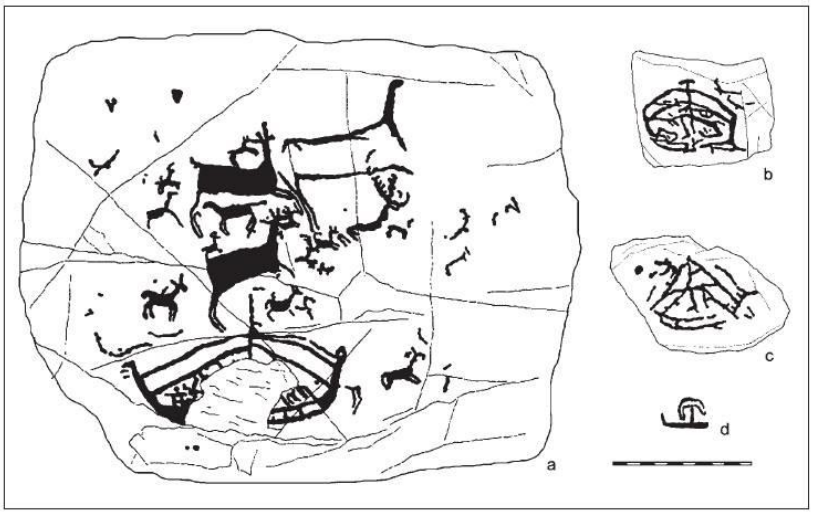


Figure 14.1: The engraved boats of Auga dos Cebros (after Mielke 2011)

According to Mederos Martín (2019a: 23) one of them has a detailed representation. It seems to have a wooden hull, of about sixteen oarsmen, a mast in central position with bow and stern raised. Mederos Martín suggests that this representation belongs to a ship that starts to appear in the Aegean in the Late Helladic IIIB (1325-1185 B.C.) or the late Cypriot IIC (1300-1190 B.C.). Representations made by Mielke and Schuhmacher (2011: 77, fig. 4) as well as the reconstruction presented by Costas Goberna and Peña Santos (2005: 213) include an *acroterion* with a bird-head. A boat painted in a sherd identified in Tiryns (Figure 14.2) emphasizes the concept of the 'bird-ship' and is very similar to those depicted in Medinet Habu.

Figure 14.2: A sherd from a Tiryns krater (after Wachsmann 2013)

Enkomi tomb 3 (Sjoqvist 1940: fig. 20/3) included a final Helladic IIIB krater depicting a ship with both the bow and the stern raised and an acroterion with a bird head. The bird ships depicted at Medinet Habu (Figure 14.3) (c. 1175 B.C.) show some similar features to the findings in Auga dos Cebros.

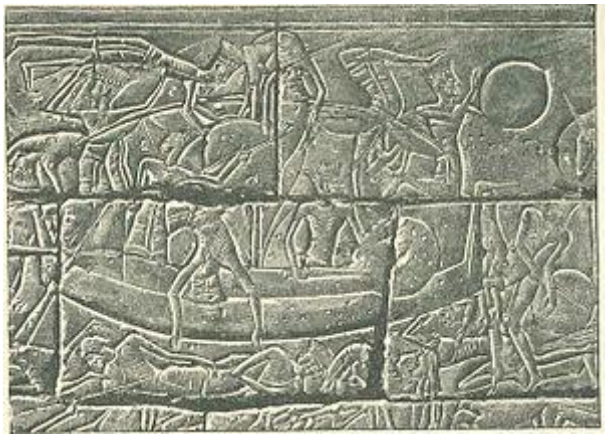


Figure 14.3: Bird-headed boat, Medinet Habu (after Wood 1991)

Reminiscent of the boats depicted in Medinet Habu (Wachsmann 1981: 192-193, figs. 4-6; 2000: 125 fig. 6.18), carvings of similar boats (Artzy 2003: 241-2, figs. 12-13) were found on the lowest slopes of the Carmel Ridge (Canaan) on the northern bank of Nahal Oren (Figure 14.4) and Nahal Hamearot (Figure 14.5). Two boats were depicted in Nahal Oren on a solitary rock, one with an impressive duck head and beak for what should be the prow. It faces west towards the sea and has a mast and a folded sail (Artzy 2003: 242). These Carmel Ridge carvings were dated roughly to the same period as the boat-depictions in Medinet Habu.

Figure 14.4: Boat, Nahal Oren (after Artzy 2003)

Figure 14.5: Small boat, Nahal Hamearot (after Artzy 2003)

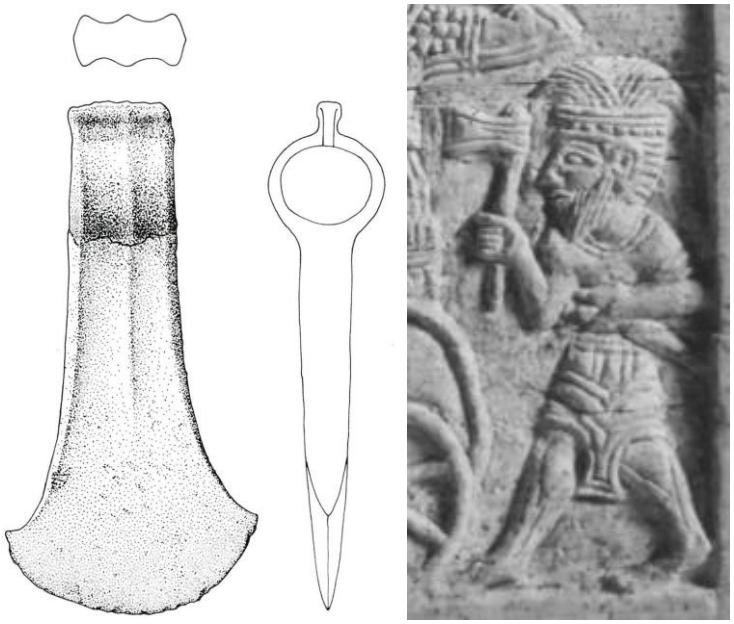
While the depictions in the Tiryns krater and Medinet Habu include the duck-head in both bow and prow, the engravings found in Canaan and Pontevedra show the duck-head only on the bow. According to Artzy (2003: 244) the cultic association to the boat rock carvings, like those in the Tel Akko and Kition-Kathari Temple IV altars, is obvious and corresponds to the same time period.

These similar boat depictions were found in different sites – Tiryns (Argolid), Egypt (as shown in Medinet Habu), Nahal Oren (Carmel Ridge), Nahal Hamearot, and Akko (Canaan), Enkomi (Cyprus) and Pontevedra (Iberia) – where the Tjeker seemed to be present around the same time-period.

To track certain objects or behaviors that could belong to the same ethnic group, I used a technique (see Chapter 1: Introduction, §2. Methodology) known since the 19th century ("markers") that helps to develop historic scenarios, and to understand the movement of people. The bowl of Berzocana (see Appendix) served as a marker to help identify Tjeker locations in Cyprus, Canaan and Iberia. Similarly, the duck-boat engravings and depictions contributed immensely to better understand their maritime journeys between the Argolid, Canaan, Cyprus and North-Atlantic Iberia. Articulated spits (see §4 below) can be considered another marker.

3. Ax of Muros, Pontevedra, Galicia

An axe was found in Muros (Monteagudo 1977: lam. 124, no. 1703) (Figure 14.6a), which is about thirty nautical miles north of modern Pontevedra. It is considered a combat-ax made of bronze, weighing about 860 grams and measuring 18 centimeters long (Gomá 2018b: 362). It is a unique piece in North Atlantic Iberia. According to Almagro Gorbea (1998: 83, fig. 1), this ax is comparable with the one depicted in the 12th century B.C. Enkomi game box (Figure 14.6b) and is related with the Sea Peoples (see Chapter 6: Tjeker and Chapter 7: Cyprus). Therefore, perhaps this represents additional support for a 12th century B.C. Tjeker presence in the Atlantic region of the Iberian Peninsula.



(a) (b)

Figure 14.6: (a) Muros ax (after Monteagudo 1977); (b) Enkomi Game Box ax

4. Articulated spits

Wright (2004: 160, cf Hamiliakis 2003) states that Homeric heroes only ate roasted meat. Ruiz-Gálvez and Galán (2012: 43, cf Sherratt 2004: 312) add that they roasted using spits/obeloi. Goody (1982) and Hamilakis and Sherratt (2012: 187) added that cooking and eating was primarily an element of social distinction and sometimes of ethnic identity, so the use of these items could suggest an ultimate Aegean origin.

4.1 Oldest archaeological findings: Tiryns

Sherratt (2004: 312) suggested that the articulated spits were of Cypriot origin since meat-spits are recorded in 11th century B.C. Skales tombs 49 and 67 (Karageorghis 1983: 56ff.), but in 2012 she concluded that these spits came to Cyprus from the Central or Western Mediterranean (Hamilakis and Sherratt 2012: 19). Her latest view could derive from the fact that obeloi/spits are unknown in Cyprus, both in domestic and funerary domains in the Bronze Age (Steel 2004) and they do not make their appearance until the Iron Age.

The evidence from the so-called Tiryns Treasure (Karo 1930; Maran 2006; 2012), which among other things contained two spits (different from those identified in the Atlantic) and are interpreted as a *keimelion* (Maran 2006: fig 8.1, 132: footnote 15), and the findings of two bronze fire-dogs (Karo 1930: suppl. 37; Maran 2012: 123, fig. 11.2) means that these objects seem to have been known on the Greek mainland as feasting equipment as early as the 12th century B.C. (LH III C) or even earlier (Vonhoff 2011: 137ff.). This is the period when Tiryns had no centralized power but new leaders emerged (Mazarakis Ainian 2006).

4.2 Production in Iberia

Some authors considered that the articulated spits originated in the British Isles and appeared in the peninsula around 1000 B.C. (Burgess 1991: 40) while French authors believed they originated in France (Coffyn 1985: 55).

Although some spit findings come from French and British scrap hoards as those of Challans, Notre Dame d'Or, Sainte Marguerite, Vénat and Hayne Wood (Burgess and O'Connor 2004: 106), out of a total collection of 20 comparable articulated spits, 10 were found in the Iberian Peninsula; therefore, it is reasonable to assume they were manufactured in Iberia (Mederos Martín 1996: 101; Ruiz-Gálvez and Galán 2012: 55).

It can be proposed that the production of these spits in Iberia started with the early Tjeker groups from Cyprus and Canaan who sought tin and ended up in Galicia and the Beiras. Once in Iberia, the Tjeker traveled with these articulated spits, as they explored Iberia's interior and the Northern Atlantic (Brittany, Britain and may be Ireland).

The production of articulated spits and other bronze objects required significant expertise and probably the Tjeker who came to Iberia brought along their technologists and skilled artisans, either as travel-mates or as permanent settlers in the peninsula. Mederos Martín (1996: 104) estimated they were built between c. 1150-1050 B.C. and that local materials were used in their production. According to Ruiz-Gálvez and Galán (2012: 55) its distribution pattern also points to Iberia as the most probable center of production, suggesting a local adaptation of the idea of feasting.

4.3 Looking for tin: the trail of articulated spits

More than half of the articulated spits, known to date, are concentrated in central Portugal and its neighboring region: Spanish Extremadura (Almagro Gorbea 1974; Enríquez Navascués 1984; Burgess and O'Connor 2004: 196-97). The locations where articulated spits were found (Mederos Martín 1996: 103 fig. 2) (Figure 14.7) provide valuable hints to help track the routes used by these Oriental groups. It looks as if they penetrated Iberia from the Atlantic through the Guadiana[33], the Tagus and the Douro (Duero) rivers.

In Extremadura, between the so-called regions of La Siberia and La Serena, an articulated spit was found near the Guadiana River in Orellana la Vieja, Badajoz (Enríquez Navascués 1984: 9-13). Orellana la Vieja included several warrior stelae (see Chapter 16: Warrior Stones) and is only 44 miles south of Berzocana, Cáceres, where an Eastern Mediterranean Tjeker bowl was found (see Appendix: Bowl of Berzocana). More articulated spits were found along the Tagus River in Portugal (Serra de Alvaiazere and Cachouça, 20 miles north of Lisbon) and in N. S. de Guia, Baiões close to the Duoro river, where a wheel support of probable Oriental origin was also unearthed (Mederos Martín 1996: 103 fig. 2).

[33] The Guadiana River is the fourth longest river in the Iberian Peninsula and defines a long stretch on the border between Portugal and Spain.

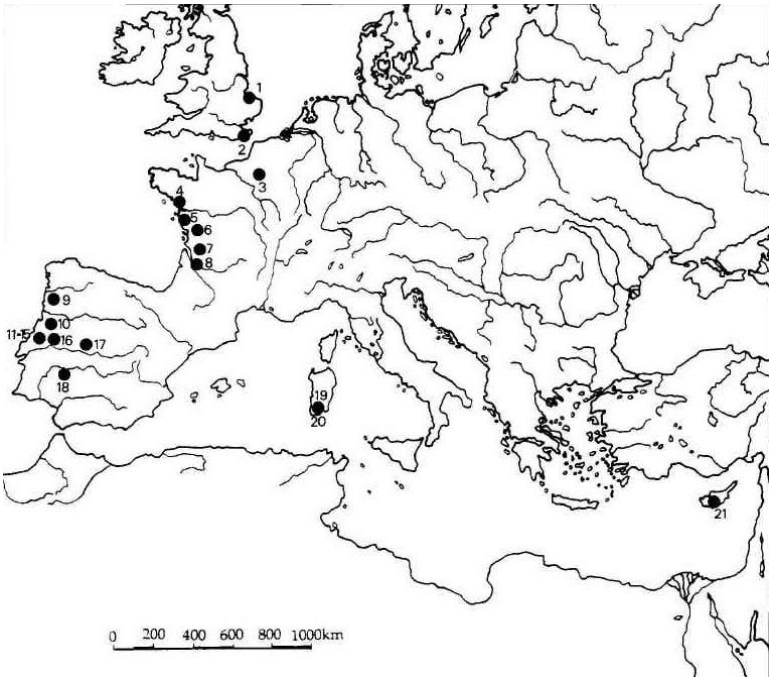


Figure 14.7: Map of articulated-spit findings (after Mederos Martín 1996)

It is very possible that one of the first things the Tjeker manufactured in the North-Atlantic were the articulated spits, not only because of their need, but probably to share with others with whom they negotiated access to tin as well as to new-weaponry (Armada 2011: 174).

Technological complexity has been another of the arguments in favor of a Mediterranean influence on these objects. In fact, detailed technological studies carried out on them (Armbruster 2000, Armbruster *et al.* 2002-03; Armada 2005; Bowman and Needham 2007) has shown the use of complex techniques, such as lost waxing casting, casting on and modelling and joining of bronze sheets with rivets (Armada 2011: 174) which suggest the arrival of a Near Eastern technology.

4.4 Northern Atlantic

As described above, Tjeker groups also searched for tin in northern Atlantic locations. That the Tjeker sailed the north Atlantic route is assumed by the objects they left behind like the articulated spits found in both Brittany and Britain.

In Brittany, they were unearthed around the western Dordogne River (Vénat, in Saint-Yriex); Notre Dame d'Or (in the Nouvelle-Aquitaine region); Challans (Pays de la Loire) Sainte-Marguerite (Landeda); and Foret de Compiegne (37 miles north of Paris) (Mederos Martín 1996: 103, fig. 2). In Britain, articulated spits were found in Saltwood and Isleham (*ibid.*), although Burgess and O'Connor (2004) are of the idea that the one piece found in Isleham is not a spit and should be removed from the count.

4.5 Later archaeological findings

Periodically, Tjeker groups sailed back from Iberia to the East Mediterranean. The same kind of Iberian-made articulated spits were found in Mount Sa Idda, Sardinia (Taramelli 1921: 56-57, fig. 79; Lo Schiavo 1991: 216), as well as in Cyprus, in Amathus tomb 523[34] (Karageorghis and Lo Schiavo 1989).

The one from the Mount Sa Idda was part of a huge scrap hoard, a fraction of which was made of Iberian metal items (Taramelli 1921: figs. 5-32 and figs. 35-65). Karageorghis and Lo Schiavo (1989: 16) compared the Mount Sa Idda spit with the one from Amathus and noted that the spit from tomb 523 "is totally strange to Cyprus."

4.6 Additional markers: flesh hooks and cauldrons

The same way the Greek had a 'wine set' composed of a bowl (like the one found in Berzocana), a jug and a strainer, it is assumed that they also had a 'meat set'. From the chronological point of view it is feasible to assume that the articulated spits were used concurrently with the flesh-hooks and the cauldrons. Armada (2011: 174) wrote:

> "At present we are unable to determine whether the first Iberian Peninsular flesh-hooks and cauldrons were influenced by the British Isles and France or whether these influences arrived via the Mediterranean through the Strait of Gibraltar."

Late-13th century B.C. Homeric heroes used some of these bronze culinary objects (see §4.1 above); and the banqueting practices in the Late Bronze Age "was a fashion arriving from the Mediterranean within the framework of pre-colonial contacts with the Syro-Palestinian and Cypriot area" (Almagro Gorbea 2001: 243–5, 249–51). They were most probably used in the North Atlantic at a similar time as the arrival of the ax of Muros or the boat engravings at Auga dos Cebros (both in the Pontevedra Region).

Flesh hooks and cauldrons were known in Canaan, Cyprus and Crete. According to Almagro Gorbea (1989: 86), their use in Canaan is documented in the Old Testament which refers to Israelite priests using a fleshhook with three prongs to pull meat out of a cauldron (1 Samuel 2:13-14):

יגוּמִשְׁפַּט הַכֹּהֲנִים אֶת־הָעָם כָּל־אִישׁ זֹבֵחַ וּבָא נַעַר
הַכֹּהֵן כִּבְשֵׁל הַבָּשָׂר וְהַמִּזְלֵג שְׁלֹשׁ־הַשִּׁנַּיִם בְּיָדוֹ׃

יד וְהִכָּה בַכִּיּוֹר אוֹ בַדּוּד אוֹ בַקַּלַּחַת אוֹ בַפָּרוּר כֹּל אֲשֶׁר
יַעֲלֶה הַמִּזְלֵג יִקַּח הַכֹּהֵן בּוֹ כָּכָה יַעֲשׂוּ לְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל
הַבָּאִים שָׁם בְּשִׁלֹה׃

13 And this was the due of the priests from the people: (whenever) any man would slaughter a sacrifice, the servant of the priest would come when (one) cooked the flesh, with a three-pronged fork in his hand.
14 And he would thrust into the fire-pot, or into the pot, or into the cauldron, or into the pan, everything which the fork would pick up, the priest would take therewith; so would they do to all Israel who came there in Shiloh.

[34] Tomb 523 has been dated to the 11th century B.C. and according to Torres Ortiz (personal communication) to c. 950 B.C. or some years earlier. Nearby tomb 523 is tomb 22 which included a Berzocana-type bowl.

Evidence of the Tjeker use of cauldrons is provided from Tell Jatt (Canaan). The Tell Jatt cauldron (Artzy 2006: J-48 fig. 2.3: 1; pl. 5) (Figure 14.8) is a large, deep cauldron with short, flaring, plain rim, rounded carination at about midbody height and rounded, wide base. There were two handles, which were not preserved. An example of a cauldron with suspended handles can be found in Cyprus (Catling 1964: pl. 21:a, fig. 17:9). The hoard of Tell Jatt also included a three-prong fleshhook (trident) (J-68, fig. 2.10:1, pl. 17). Only a few tridents were found in the Levant including those found in the Persian Gardens nearby Akko (Ben-Arieh and Edelstein 1977: 30, fig. 15: 2), as well as Ugarit (Schaeffer 1956: 171-172, figs. 122-124). The production of the socket and the lower part of the trident from Akko is very similar to the one found in Tell Jatt.

Figure 14.8: Cauldron unearthed in Tell Jatt (after Artzy 2006)

An unusual large example of fleshooks with three straight prongs, corresponding to an early 12th century B.C., was found in a grave at Hala Sultan Teke which, according to Hamilakis *et al.* 2012: 197), might well be interpreted as that of a male warrior. The fleshhook was accompanied by a dagger, arrowheads and various objects of eastern origin and associated with a bronze drinking set of typical Near Eastern design (Niklasson 1983: 171–80, 184–5, figs. 424–8, 436–47). Bronze forks with variable numbers of prongs (either curved or straight) are also common in the Aegean and were also found in graves belonging to the Bronze Age (Hamilakis and Sherratt 2012: 197). Other fleshooks were found in 2nd millennium Anatolia (Kultepe and Boghazkoy) as well as in the 13th century B.C. in Ugarit (Makkay 1983: pls. 3: 1–2; 4: 1, 5).

Regarding 'flesh-hooks', not very many were found in Iberia (seven according to Armada 2011: 163, 178) covering several typological variations. Findings in France and Britain were

interpreted by some as being the predecessors of those found in Iberia although I believe that the arrival of the Tjeker in the Atlantic suggests the presence of motivated people traveling perhaps from the Pontevedra region east and north, towards Brittany and other northern French areas from where they could cross the English Channel and finally arrive to the tin mines in Devon. The few unearthed 'flesh hooks' support the assumptions about the Tjeker moves as already exposed at the time the articulated spits were discussed above.

Although the hooks and cauldrons of the West are not exactly the same as those of the East, the latter would reflect a way of cooking meat both in the religious sphere and in the regional social elites (Ruiz-Gálvez and Galán 2012: 48-49).

In northern Spain two flesh-hooks were identified in Cangas de Morrazo, Pontevedra (Ruiz-Gálvez 1979); one in Barrios de Luna, Leon (Delibes *et al.* 1992-93); one in Cantabrana, Burgos (Delibes *et al.* 1992-93); and one more in the Genil river (Armada and López Palomo 2003).

Outside Iberia, a unit was found in Thorigne Deux Sevres, western France; a second in Cannes Ecluse I, north Alpine France (Gaucher and Robert 1967: 201); and one more in Salcombe, Devon in southwest Britain (Armada 2011: 174), probably close to the target-destinations.

Additional support for the theory that the Tjeker travel from Pontevedra to Devon (Britain) may be provided by the multiple locations of cauldron-findings hinting about one of the routes selected by them to reach French territory: Cangas de Morrazo, Pontevedra (Ruiz-Gálvez 1979); Torroso, Mos, Pontevedra (Peña Santos 1992: 25-30, fig. 62, lám. 48); A Coruña (Armada 2005: 13-134; 2008, 137-138, lám II); Cremenes, Leon (Schubart 1961: Fernández Manzano 1986: 18, 124, fig. 41.4; Blas 2007); Villaviciosa, Asturias (Camino 1995: 120; Armada 2005: 132); Grandas de Salime, Asturias (Villa Valdés and Cabo Peréz 2003; Armada 2008: 137, 141-142, lám. IV; Villa Valdés 2010: 161-163); Huerta de Arribas, Burgos (Martínez Santa Olalla 1942; Fernández Manzano 1986: 14-15, 125); Cabárceno, Penagos, Santander (García y Bellido 1941; Fernández Manzano and Guerra Doce 2003; Blas Cortina 2007; Armada 2008: 134-135); Torrecilla en Cameros, Logroño (Garin y Modet 1912; Armada 2008: 136-137, 144-146, lám. 1).

5. Tin ingots from Britain to Canaan

Tjeker searches for new tin supplies continued in the Iberian Peninsula (Galicia, Extremadura, Baiões, etc.) and extended to Brittany and Britain.

Possible proof of this is provided by the Hishulei Carmel shipwreck in northern Israel, which included fifteen tin ingots, two ox-hide copper ingots and several stone anchors (Galili and Shmueli 1983: 178; Misch-Brandl 1985; Galili *et al.* 1986; 2011; 2013). Berger *et al.* (2019) analyzed the isotope composition of these ingots and concluded that the Cornish tin mines (southwest England) are the most likely suppliers of these tin ingots:

> "With the help of the tin isotope composition and the trace elements of the objects it is further possible to exclude many tin resources from the European continent and, considering the current state of knowledge and the available data, to conclude that Cornish tin mines are the most likely suppliers for the 13th–12th centuries tin ingots from Israel."

Three of the ingots contained Cypro-Minoan inscriptions (Figure 14.9), a script that was used between the 16th–11th centuries B.C. According to Masson (1974: 15), two of those ingots were inscribed with signs for "95" and "102". Maddin *et al.* (1977) and Stech Wheeler *et al.* (1979) assigned these tin ingots to the LBA. Similarly, Galili *et al* (1983: 178), Misch-Brandl (1985) and Galili *et al* (2013) suggested this shipwreck was an LBA event.

Figure 14.9: Tin ingots found in the alleged ships that wrecked off shore the Israeli coast (after Berger *et al.* 2019)

This archaeological finding could add additional evidence that a) there was a Tjeker presence in the Northern Atlantic during the 12th century B.C. and b) the presence was triggered by the need for tin.

6. Additional Oriental objects found in Iberia

According to Almagro Gorbea (1998: 93), the following objects have an origin in the Eastern Mediterranean and belong to the 12th century B.C. The Orientals followed a meridional route parallel to the African coast with a stop in Sicily (Bernabò Brea 1965; Bisi 1968; Schubart and Arteaga 1986: 505ff.; Garbini 1988).

6.1 Adzes

Lugged adzes are associated in Osuna with a Rosnoën-type palstave of the Late Bronze Age I-II (Almagro Gorbea 1996: 269-271). These adzes come from the Aegean region, where they are documented from LH IIIC (Harding 1975: 184-185; Wesse 1990: 60-61, 217-218 plate. 22 Group IIIF), among which it stands out, for its special affinity with the one found in the

Peninsula, one found in Asine (Argolis) (Maxwell-Hyslop 1953: 79 fig. 3.1; Wesse 1990: 218 sheet 22,374).

According to Gomá (2018a: 125) the examples of straight edges are easily traceable by different regions of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. Stone molds for rectangular and trapezoidal models are documented at Troy level VIIb2 (Maxwell-Hyslop 1953: 83 fig. 6.11; Wesse 1990: 224 sheet 22,455).

The adze found in Osuna can be related to other similar findings in the Iberian Peninsula, in particular those found in a deposit in Campotéjar, Granada (Monteagudo 1977: 137, no. 816-817). In this deposit (now missing) 30 to 40 adzes were found, among them some made of iron (Almagro Gorbea 1993). The adze of Osuna presents a great similarity to those of Campotéjar not only in its shape, but also in its dimensions, reinforcing the assumption that they were built in the same workshop (Almagro Gorbea 1996: 273).

Parallels to these adzes can be found in Anatolia (Erkanal 1977: 3ff.), Canaan (Deshayes 1960: 113, l. 13-15, map 7), Cyprus and the Aegean (Catling 1964: 87-88; Buchholz and Karageorghis 1971: 52, no. 553-4; Vagnetti 1974: 669-670; Harding 1975: 184-6). According to Catling (1964: 87) the adzes in Cyprus correspond to the Late Cypriot III and could be dated after 1200 B.C.

6.2 Axes

As indicated by Almagro Gorbea (1998: 93) and Torres Ortiz (2008) the arrival of prototypes of the lugged axes to Iberia could be dated to the 12th century B.C. Likewise, the first lugged axes are also documented in the Sicilian deposits just at this time, as in Niscemi and Nota Antica, which are located in the second phase of these deposits and are dated between the mid-12th and mid-11th centuries B.C. (Giardino 1995: 17, 22 fig. 8: B, 23 fig. 10: A). Its arrival in the Iberian Peninsula should perhaps be linked to Mycenaean navigations, since these pieces have been documented in Greece and the Aegean during the Late Helladic III C (Bouzek 1985: 150-151, fig. 75), but scarcely in Cyprus.

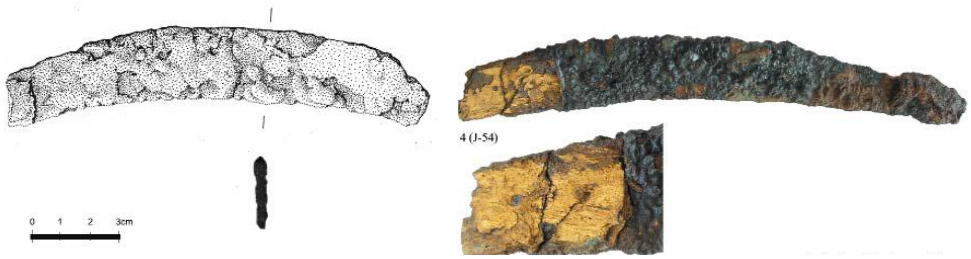
6.3 Iron knives and saws

Iron knives and saws were excavated and studied from Late Bronze Age settlements in Portugal, namely in the "Beiras" region and places like Monte do Trigo, Beijás, Moreirinha, Monte do Frade and others (Figure 14.10) (Vilaça 2006: 81, 93: table 1; Mederos 2008b: 63-64; Álvarez Sanchís *et al.* 2016: 151). The archaeological contexts and C^{14} tests date these irons to the 12th–10th century B.C. (Vilaça 2006: 94, table 2), indicating that they may be the oldest irons in Iberia, and well before the Phoenician colonization (*ibid*., cf Lo Schiavo 1988: 102; 1991: 214).

Figure 14.10: Portuguese sites of iron knives and saws (after Vilaça 2006)

According to Torres Ortiz (2008: 66), parallel finds from c. 1050 B.C. Cyprus suggest that these Iberian finds were imports, similar to the contemporary bowl of Berzocana. According to Stern (2013, cf Dothan, T. 1989a: 115-163; 2002: 14-23), the numerous iron knives found in Cyprus, and especially Enkomi, meant that Cyprus was the likely source for the iron knives found in northern Canaan including Tell Jatt (Artzy 2006: pl. 14:1, fig. 2.8: 3), Megiddo and Beit Shean (Sherratt 1994; Mazar, A. 2006: 494-496). These 11th century B.C. sites attest to a Tjeker presence (see Chapters 6-13).

One of the iron knives from Moreirinha (Iberia) (Vilaça 2006: 87, fig. 4.1) (Figure 14.11a) bears some similarity with the curved iron knife from Tell Jatt (northern Canaan) (Figure 14.11b) (see Chapter 13).



(a) (b)

Figure 14.11: Iron knives a) Moreirinha (after Vilaça 2006); b) Tell Jatt (after Artzy 2006)

Given several preconditions (i.e. the Tjeker were metallurgic experts and traders [i.e. bronze, tin, silver]; they traversed from Cyprus and northern Canaan to Iberia's tin regions; they brought a bronze bowl from the Levant to Berzocana; and the 12th–10th centuries B.C. foreign-made irons were found between the Atlantic and Extremadura along this route), the Tjeker may have likely brought these irons to Iberia.

6.4 Arrowheads found in North-Atlantic Iberia

Regarding the dynamics of the 12th century B.C., reference will be made to the work of Kayser Aguilar (2006: 146, map 6) that shows the distribution of leafed shaped arrowheads (type III B 2 PE) and triangular with thickened peduncle (type III B 1 PE), identified in the Mediterranean.

The thickened peduncle arrowhead (types III B 1 PE and III B 2 PE); very characteristic of the Atlantic peninsular façade (Kayser Aguilar 2006: 141), has a parallel in the Laconian site of Sparta (Avila 1981: 107), where a specimen with thickened peduncle appeared.

The route inferred from this map hints that a group of people from the Argolid Peninsula passed through Anatolia and landed in Cyprus, sailed to Atlantic Iberia (with no stops in France) where they explored the Atlantic façade of the Peninsula.

From the Atlantic they used the rivers to reach inland. The navigation through the several rivers left a geographical distribution-pattern of these types of arrows (Kayser Aguilar 2004: Map 6) (Figure 14.12) similar to that of the articulated-spits discussed above (§4.3, Figure 14.7). The dating of these pieces extends to a period between the Late Helladic II and the Late Helladic IIIC (Avila 1981: tafel 64).

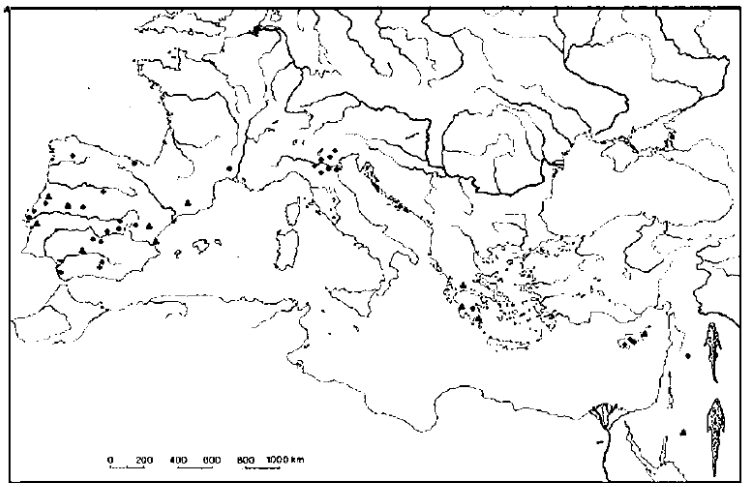


Figure 14.12: Leafed shaped type IIIB 2 PE arrowheads and triangular (Type IIIB 1 PE) with engrossed peduncle arrowheads (after Kayser Aguilar 2004)

7. Silver from Río Tinto to Tell Keisan

The well-known findings in Amathus tomb 523 (i.e. articulated spit and Huelva-type fibula) and Achziv (i.e. Huelva-type fibula) were not the only objects exported from Iberia to Tjeker sites in the Eastern Mediterranean.

The silver hoard found in Tell Keisan has been discussed previously in length (see Chapter 8). Silver hoards corresponding to the 11th–10th centuries B.C. were also found in northern Canaan regions that were settled by the Tjeker (Wood *et al.* 2020: 4, Table 1). The southern Levant has no geological silver sources of its own. In spite of that, the largest concentration of Iron Age silver hoards in the Near East has been identified there. More than 30 silver hoards were discovered in northern Israel: Tell Keisan (Nodet 1980: 325-6; Thompson and Skaggs 2013; Eshel 2014; Wood *et al.* 2019), Dor (Stern 1998: 46-62; 2001: 19, 26; Thompson and Skaggs 2013) and Megiddo (Loud 1948; Stern 2001: 19-26); and most of them related to the Iron Age (Eshel 2014: 1).

Where did the silver arrive in the region from (Thompson 2003)? Thompson and Skaggs (2013) used lead isotope analysis (LIA) on 25 sampled artefacts from Akko, Ein Hofez, Tel Dor and Tell Keisan (all in Canaan) and demonstrated that they are consistent with ores of the central and western Mediterranean, and not from Anatolia (Taurus) or the Aegean (Laurion).

What is important to confirm is whether any of these silver hoards showed up in Canaan in the 11th–10th centuries B.C. Based on its gold content, metallurgic experts can determine the geographic source of the ore from which the silver originated. With this information, it is then possible to analyze likely routes used to transport these hoards.

Galena ore (or lead sulfide) is the most common form in which unrefined silver is found, but other minerals, such as cerussite (lead carbonate) or jarosite, may have also been sources of silver (Muhly 1998: 318; Moorey 1999: 232–233). Others suggested that silver replaced gold as the primary metal in complex jewelry in the early Iron Age (Thompson 2003; Golani 2009; Gilboa 2013). Biblical narratives that can be traced to the second quarter of the 10th century B.C. confirm the large amount of silver taken by King David from his enemies after defeating them.

2 Samuel 8:11

11 These also the king David dedicated to the Lord, [along] with the silver and the gold that he dedicated from all the nations that he had conquered.

יאגַּם־אֹתָם הִקְדִּישׁ הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד לַיהוָה עִם־הַכֶּסֶף וְהַזָּהָב
אֲשֶׁר הִקְדִּישׁ מִכָּל־הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר כִּבֵּשׁ׃

1 Chronicles 22:14

14 And behold, in my poverty, I prepared for the House of the Lord one hundred thousand talents of gold, a thousand talents of silver, and of copper and iron without weight, for it was in abundance, and I prepared wood and stones, and you shall add to them.

ידוְהִנֵּה בְעָנְיִי הֲכִינוֹתִי לְבֵית־יְהוָה זָהָב כִּכָּרִים מֵאָה־אֶלֶף
וְכֶסֶף אֲלָפִים כִּכָּרִים וְלִנְחֹשֶׁת וְלַבַּרְזֶל אֵין מִשְׁקָל כִּי
לָרֹב הָיָה וְעֵצִים וַאֲבָנִים הֲכִינוֹתִי וְעָלֶיהָם תּוֹסִיף׃

One of the oldest silver hoards of Tell Keisan underwent three different Lead Isotope Analysis metal-studies by specialists between 2013 and 2019 (Thompson and Skaggs 2013: Table 3; Eshel 2014: 12; Wood *et al.* 2019: Table 1). Wood *et al.* (2019), who analyzed samples

all across the Canaanite region, also concluded that different ore sources supplied silver to northern and southern Canaan. While the Taurus mountains were the main supplier to the south of Canaan, Iberia was the major supplier to the north. This further discounts the likelihood of a connection between the Philistines and Iberia.

The Tell Keisan silver hoard had an extremely high percentage of gold (Eshel 2014: 116, 106, Table 4.5) and may have come from both native silver as well as jarosite (Wood *et al.* 2019: 22). Could Iberia be the source of that hoard? Based on its extremely high percentage of gold content (c. 20%), the mines at Río Tinto (45 miles north of Huelva) are a highly probable source (Eshel 2014: 116; translated from Hebrew by Zorea):

> "From the four hoards in northern Israel that were examined, high levels of gold were measured. There is a possibility that the high percentage of gold corresponds to the jarosite ore of Río Tinto, Spain. Although there is not complete certainty, a number of measurements of the ore gold percentage in this region favorably correlate with the gold percentages identified in the objects found in northern Israel."

When did the silver extraction occur?

All three researchers concluded that the Tell Keisan hoard of silver dated to the second half of the 11th century B.C. The first appearance of the Phoenicians in the Huelva region (near the Río Tinto mines) occurred at the end of the 10th century B.C. at the earliest or at the beginning of the 9th century B.C. (Torres Ortiz 2005; González de Canales *et al.* 2008: 631-655; Celestino-Pérez and López-Ruiz 2016: 303).

Similarly, biblical narratives emphasize the partnership between Israel's King Solomon and Tyre's king Hiram and their Tarshish expeditions, which have sometimes been attributed to Iberia's Tartessos[35] (Koch 2003: 215). As previously thought by other authors, I estimate that these expeditions may have taken place c. mid-10th century B.C. (1 Kings 10:22)[36]:

22 For the king had at sea ships of Tarshish with Hiram's ships; once in three years, the ships of Tarshish would come bearing gold and silver, ivory and monkeys and peacocks.

כבכִּי אֳנִי תַרְשִׁישׁ לַמֶּלֶךְ בַּיָּם עִם אֳנִי חִירָם אַחַת לְשָׁלֹשׁ שָׁנִים תָּבוֹא | אֳנִי תַרְשִׁישׁ נֹשְׂאֹת זָהָב וָכֶסֶף שֶׁנְהַבִּים וְקוֹפִים וְתֻכִּיִּים׃

The researchers that evaluated the antiquity of the silver hoard in Tell Keisan confirmed that Iberian silver was mined and traded in the 11th B.C. century by Orientals. But if these miners were not Phoenicians, who were they? It is highly probably that those that brought the silver from Iberia to Tell Keisan were the Tjeker.

8. Tjeker, the Argolid Peninsula and the connectivity with Canaan, Cyprus and Iberia

The table presented in Figure 14.13 covers the period 1200-1130 B.C. and attempts to convey the dynamics of the relationship between groups that originated in the Argolid Peninsula

[35] Near the Río Tinto mines is a site named *Cerro Colorado*. According to a local myth, the site is also called *Cerro Solomon* in reference to the fabled mines of King Solomon.

[36] Phoenicians industrialized silver production in the 10th–9th centuries B.C. and in particular to serve the 8th century B.C. Assyrians.

and distant regions such as Cyprus, Canaan and Iberia. This evidence is in line with the Zorea Model presented in Part I and Part II of this dissertation.

#	*Argolid site*	*Finding*	*Other sites*	*Finding*
1	Tiryns	Ceramic sherd – Bird boat	Nahal Hamearot, Canaan	Engraving
2	Tiryns	Ceramic sherd – Bird boat	Carmel Ridge, Canaan	Engraving
3	Tiryns	Ceramic sherd – Bird boat	Akko, Canaan	Engraving
4	Tiryns	Ceramic sherd – Bird boat	Kition, Cyprus	Engraving
5	Tiryns	Ceramic sherd – Bird boat	Pontevedra, Iberia	Engraving
6	Tiryns	Water Management System	Tell es-Sa'idiyeh	Water Management System
7	Tiryns	Spits	Iberia	Articulated Spits
8	Tiryns	Krater – Round Shield	Iberia	Stelae depictions
9	Mycenae	Warrior Vase – Round Shield	Iberia	Stelae depictions
10	Mycenae	Warrior vase- Horned Helmets	Iberia	Stelae depictions
11	Pylos	Fresco – Round Shield	Iberia	Stelae depictions
12	Asine	Adze	Osuna, Iberia	Adze
13	Berbati	Ceramic fabric	Tel Dan, Canaan, Iberia	Ceramics

Figure 14.13: Argolid connections with Canaan, Cyprus and Iberia (c. 12th century B.C.)

9. Objects from Cyprus/Canaan to Iberia

Tjeker proof of presence in the Iberian Peninsula and the North Atlantic started at the beginning of the 12th century B.C. The Muros ax, the adzes and arrowheads, the boat engravings in Pontevedra, the tin ingots acquired in Britain and other objects unearthed provide evidence of Tjeker groups arriving to North-Atlantic Iberia.

The 11th century B.C. bowl of Berzocana (Extremadura) clearly confirms the continuous Tjeker contacts between Cyprus, Canaan and the tin territory in Extremadura. It is nearly identical to one of the bowls unearthed in Tell Jatt, a Tjeker burial location (Zorea 2018b) (see Chapter 9 and Appendix).

With time, bronze objects that were previously imported to Iberia were subsequently manufactured locally. Before there was a transfer of technology, there was a transfer of technologists. Armada (2011: 167) wrote:

> "It is about the mobility of the craftsmanship, implying that it was people that travelled and not the objects."

10. Objects from Iberia (and Britain) to Canaan, Cyprus and Sardinia

Objects unearthed in Canaan arriving from the North Atlantic and the Iberian Peninsula, suggest that different Tjeker groups followed different routes and developed distinctive interests.

The first proof of British tin arriving to Canaan takes place in the 12th century B.C. The ingots with Cypro-Minoan characters engraved in them clearly demonstrate that the need for tin was critical to the Tjeker well-being. While some Tjeker groups continued to be dedicated to tin trade, others focused on silver extraction.

Some elite graves unearthed in Cyprus have provided archaeological evidence confirming the long-haul maritime communications between Iberia and Cyprus. In particular is the articulated spit found in tomb 523 at Amathus, Cyprus, that has been dated at CG I (Karageorghis and Lo Schiavo 1989; Lo Schiavo 1990: 128-30) and Crielaard (1998: 191) or at the time of transition between the CGI to CGII (Torres Ortiz- personal communication). The articulated spits manufactured in Iberia's north-Atlantic region, that showed in Sardinia and Cyprus are also suggested to be of Tjeker design and Iberian manufacturing. This is a highly significant find which lends support to the possibility that long-distance exchanges of prestige goods existed in the 11th and 10th centuries B.C. (Crielaard 1998: 191).

Additional archaeological finds in the Eastern Mediterranean solidify the fact that Tjeker-made products from Iberia reached the other side of the Mediterranean (i.e. Huelva-type fibula unearthed in Amathus, Cyprus; Huelva-type fibula unearthed in Achziv; and perhaps the most impressive find of all, the silver hoard unearthed in Tell Keisan, Canaan - see Chapter 8).

A V-notched shield, comparable to those adopted by the Tjeker in their Atlantic trips (either from Ireland or Britain, or from Mycenaean origin) and depicted in the western Iberian warrior stones, was unearthed in the necropolis of Idalion, Cyprus (see Chapter 7).

According to Mederos Martín (1996: 98-99) fibulae outside Iberia can be found in Kourion, Cyprus (Cesnola 1903). Another one may have been found in Kition (Buchholz 1986).

A third copy was located in Amathus tomb 523 (Karageorghis 1987) that can be assigned to c. 1050-950 B.C. This object is also accompanied by the above-mentioned articulated spit. I consider tomb 523 to be a Tjeker tomb because it is nearby tomb 22 from which a Berzocana-type bowl was unearthed. The following table summarizes the connectivity between East and West (Figure 14.14):

#	*Weapon*	*Personal item*	*Origin of design*	*Manufactured in*	*Found in*
1	V-shields		Britain	Iberia	SW Iberian stelae
2	Swords		Atlantic	Iberia	Atlantic rivers
3	Chariots		Cyprus	Iberia	SW Iberian stelae
4		Articulated spit	Cyprus	NW Iberia	Iberia, Canaan, Cyprus
5		Mirrors	Mediterranean	Sardinia/Italy	Stelae
6		Combs	Mediterranean	Italy, Cyprus	Stelae, Roça do Casal do Meio
7		Fibulae	Cyprus	Southern Iberia	Iberia, Canaan, Cyprus
8		Lyre	Aegean	Cyprus	Iberian Stelae

Figure 14.14: Stelae-icons and data about comparable objects

Chapter 15: Mycenaeans in Iberia?

Archaeological findings in Iberia hinted to the possibility that Mycenean people (from the city of Mycenae) could have arrived to the Peninsula in the 13th century B.C. To explore this subject in more depth, an investigation was conducted to better understand the culture of the city of Mycenae in the 12th and 11th centuries B.C. and the possible connections to Iberia.

1. Mycenaean and Cypriot sherds in Iberia

A few sherds considered of Mycenaean and Cypriot origin have been unearthed in Iberia. This section reviews the findings in Huelva, Llanete de los Moros de Montoro, Cuesta del Negro Purullena and La Indiana- Cacera del Valle.

1.1 The wheel made, painted ceramic Mycenaean fragment found in Huelva

Gómez Toscano and Mederos Martín (2018: 118) investigated a ceramic fragment found in the mid 1970's at the former Palos Street 20th-27th, that probably corresponds to a stirrup jar (Figure 15.1). The beginning of the neck has been preserved as well as part of the back where the decoration is usually located. This motif of black-filled triangles is not frequent, but Furumark (1941b: fig. 44/ 49) collects the presence of paint-filled triangles in ceramics of the Late Mycenaean IIIC:1b. The authors concluded that these type of vessels - belonging to the Late Heladic IIIC:1b - were found in both Cyprus (Kling 1989) and Canaan (Killebrew 2000: 243) and started to be developed around 1153-1136 B.C. probably in Cyprus, since some of the Tjeker groups came back to Canaan after 1130 B.C. In my opinion, the fragment under discussion could have been manufactured by the Tjeker in Cyprus prior to 1130 B.C. or in either Cyprus or Canaan after 1130 B.C.

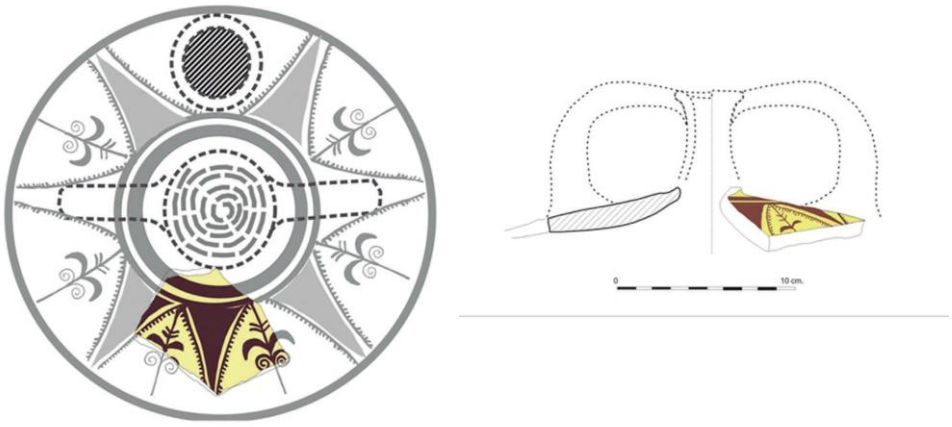


Figure 15.1: Reconstruction of a wheelmade painted stir-up jar from Huelva (after Gómez Toscano and Mederos Martín 2018)

This fragment relates to some decorations of the Late Helladic IIIC:1, as in a fragment of the back of an Ekron pyxis that shows alternate triangles filled with black and others with cross lines forming a grid (Dothan and Zukerman 2004: 26 table 13, 28, 27 fig. 30/9) (Figure 15.2).

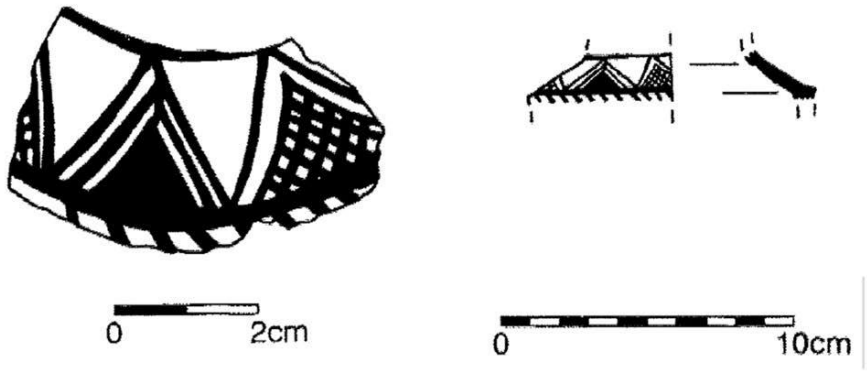


Figure 15.2: Ekron, Late Helladic IIIC: 1, which shows alternate triangles filled with black and others with cross lines forming a grid (after Dothan and Zukerman 2004)

The possibility of this fragment being of Philistine origin is discarded since there was no Philistine presence, either in Cyprus or in Iberia. The element of the 'triangles' is found in the Tjeker material culture (Chapter 13), in the use of zig-zag elements as those found in head-dresses in the Beit-Shean sarcophagi as well as several ceramics typical of Northern Canaan (Stern 2013).

Gómez Toscano (Gómez Toscano and Mederos Martín 2018: 118) based on his experience in Tell Abu Hawam (present Haifa, Israel) identified this fragment as a piece of Aegean character belonging to the Late Minoan III (Balensi 2004). They claimed that the Mycenaean fragment found in Huelva belongs to the second half of the 12th century B.C. or the first half of the 11th century B.C. (Gómez Toscano and Mederos Martín 2018: 125). Huelva's proximity to the mining complex of Rio Tinto, made this site strategically important since the Tinto River was then navigable between Onuba and Niebla (15 miles).

1.2 Other Mycenaean and Cypriot sherds

Myceanean and Cypriot sherds have also been found and identified in other Iberian regions. The finds in Llanete de los Moros de Montoro, Cuesta del Negor Purullena and La Indiana Cacera del Valle will be reviewed below:

1.2.1 Llanete de los Moros de Montoro

Llanete de los Moros de Montoro is located 28 miles east-northeast of Cordoba (Figure 15.3). Two tiny fragments of wheelmade pottery were identified at this site whose Mycenaean origin is unquestionable (Martín de la Cruz 1988).

Figure 15.3: The location of Montoro (after Google Maps)

An analysis by means of Atomic Absorption Spectroscopy (AAS) of both ceramic fragments indicated that they belonged to the workshop of Mycenae-Berbati, in the Argolid (Martín de la Cruz and Perlines 1993: 335; Perlines 2005: 483). According to Ruiz-Gálvez Priego (2009: 99) several dating tests were performed. The published results of the dating of the strata where these two pieces were found in Montoro show very large spreads (*ibid*., 99, fig. 1) (Figure 15.4).

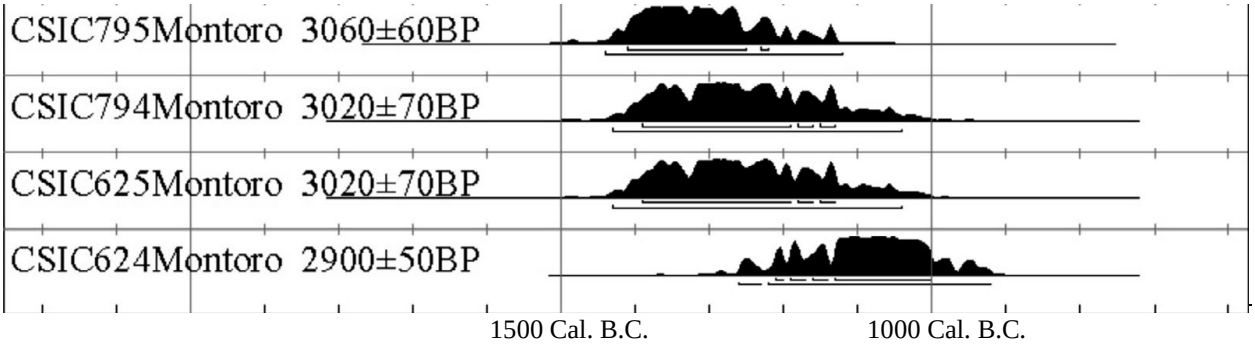


Figure 15.4: Mycenaean fragments dating (after Ruiz-Gálvez Priego 2009)

The calibrated results (*ibid*., 100, tab. 1) are shown below (Figure 15.5):

ID	***Sample***	***Provenance***	***Date b.p.***	***Date calibrated (B.C.)***
CSIC	795	Montoro	3060±60	1450-1120
CSIC	794	Montoro	3020±70	1430-1050
CSIC	625	Montoro	3020±70	1430-1050
CSIC	624	Montoro	2900±50	1260-930

Figure 15.5: Dating results (after Ruiz-Gálvez Priego 2009)

What is important to determine is not when these ceramics were made but when did they arrive to Iberia. Mederos Martín (2017: 31) presents a list of individuals that contributed their opinion about the dating of these sherds. In 1990 Podzuweit (1990: 53) suggested between the LH IIIA2-IIIB1. Three years later Mountjoy (1993: 170, 188 n. 385) proposed the period LH IIIIA1.

Their opinions were followed by Spanish researchers like Almagro Gorbea and Fontes (1997: 345): LH IIIA2-IIIB2; Mederos Martín (1997a: 129; 1999: 239) and Torres Ortiz (2008): LH IIIA2-IIIB1.

The support for the new dating came also from Martín de la Cruz (2008: 292) who proposed LH IIIA-IIIC and Pellicer Catalán (2010: 22) who suggested LH IIIB-IIIC while Ruiz-Gálvez Priego (2009: 101, 107) provides a range of 1250-1000 B.C.

In Montoro, additional findings such as a ceramic support, an edge and a handle of a pithoi - like the one on the Cuesta del Negro - could be considered of Cypriot origin (Torres Ortiz 2008: 68).

1.2.2 Cuesta del Negro Purullena (Granada)

Other signs of Mediterranean contacts are the discoveries of large storage vessels (wheel-made *pithoi*) with limited decoration like the one found in Cuesta del Negro Purullena, Granada (Molina Gonzalez and Pareja 1975: fig. 102/449) (Figure 15.6) and other ceramic fragments that were found there. Torres Ortiz (2008: 63) suggested that these ceramic fragments originated in Cyprus since their paste analysis coincided with the other non-Mycenaean fragments excavated from Llanete de los Moros de Montoro (Martín de la Cruz and Perlines 1993: 341-344). The dating of the wheel-made undecorated ceramics has been estimated by Torres Ortiz (2008: 62) to the 14th century B.C. and by Ruiz-Gálvez Priego (2009: 100) between 1250-1000 B.C. (Figure 15.7).

Mederos Martín (2017: 34) claims that the large *pithoi* were used to transport smaller Cypriot ceramics adding:

> "… no explanation has been given on how those *pithos*, if it were Cypriot, reached Cuesta del Negro, in the inland of Granada, from the coast, and where it seems to have been reused and filled with wheat."

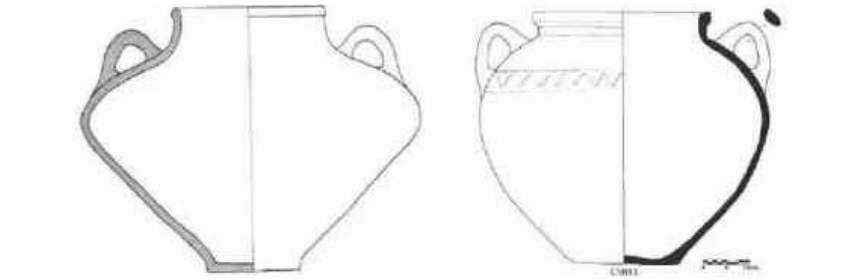


Figure 15.6: Wheelmade pithos, Left: Cuesta del Negro (Purullena, Granada) (after Molina Gonzalez and Pareja 1975)

1.2.3 La Indiana - Cacera del Valle (Pinto, Madrid)

In 1997, a new painted ceramic fragment was located within structure 6529 from the Late Bronze Age at the site of La Indiana-Cacera del Valle (Pinto, Madrid), some 12 miles south of Madrid, associated to a large set of Cogotas I type ceramics. It belongs to a closed vessel, whose only preserved decorated motif corresponds to a wavy line (Furumark 1941a: FM53), a very typical Tjeker decoration (see Chapter 13). This ceramic fragment seems to correspond with certain features of the Initial LH IIIC1, ca. 1190-1150 BC, or the Late Bronze Age IIB, ca. 1225-1150 BC in the Iberian Peninsula (Mederos Martín 2017). Quoting Mederos Martín:

> "In any case, when more excavations belonging to the Late Bronze Age sites of the Iberian Peninsula are carried out, new Mycenaean ceramics will continue appearing".

The dating of these fragments is fundamental for the development of an historical narrative. Unfortunately, in several cases the dating-range is so vast that it is almost impossible to attach a convincing narrative to these findings. Three parameters can be used to help make this determination: a) Chronology, b) Decoration and in cases c) Location.

It can be stated with a degree of certainty that all findings of Mycenaean ceramics in Iberia that preceded 1200 B.C. (e.g. Llanete de los Moros) may be attributed to Mycenaean trade from the Argolid while those from the 12th century B.C. or afterwards (e.g. La Indiana and Huelva) may be linked to the Tjeker from Cyprus.

The presence of Cypriot fragments side by side with Mycenaean sherds (Llanete de los Moros) makes things even more complex because in spite of Mycenaean presence in Cyprus in the 13th century B.C., there is no proof of Cypriot/Aegean ships reaching Iberia.

1.3 Summary Table

Based on the estimated dating for the Huelva fragment, its type of decoration and the vicinity to the Rio Tinto mines (Figure 15.7), it is probable that this find could be related to a Tjeker presence. The situation in 'La Indiana' can be considered marginal, since it is difficult to

determine if this finding corresponds to a period contemporary to the palaces collapse or thereafter.

#	*Location*	*Findings*	*Dating (B.C.) (C^{14} Tests)*	*Dating (B.C.) (estimates)*
1	Llanete de los Moros	Two fragments of wheel made Pottery (Mycenaean) + Cypriot findings	1450-1050 1260-930	LH IIIA – LH – IIIC 1400-1050
2	Cuesta del Negro	Wheel made fragments of Cypriot origin	1435-1268	14th century 1250-1000
3	La Indiana	Painted ceramic Fragment with a wavy line		1190-1150 1225-1150
4	Huelva	Wheel made Minoan		1150-1050

Figure 15.7: Mycenaean and Cypriot ceramic fragments in Iberia

The broad time-range assigned to Llanete de los Moros imply the possibility that Mycenaean from the Argolid were present in Iberia and could have influenced the local culture. Could the Mycenaeans from the Argolid have had an impact on the warrior stelae or the burial cremations in Iberia? To answer this question, it was important to start an investigation about the Mycenaean attributes and characteristics.

2. Mycenaean Culture

To better understand the Mycenaean culture of the 12th century B.C. it is necessary to go back in time, to Mycenae, Greece. Several parameters could potentially link Mycenaean with archaeological findings in Iberia. Those include the use of stelae, the incorporation of cremation as a new burial custom and the adoption of certain defensive equipment (helmets and shields).

2.1 Mycenae 16th century B.C. - Shaft Grave Period

Sixteenth century B.C. cemeteries, labeled Grave Circles A and B; represented one of the significant characteristics of the early phase of the Mycenaean civilization (Komita 1982: 60). A shaft tomb or shaft grave is a type of deep rectangular burial structure, similar in shape to the much shallower cist grave, containing a floor of pebbles, walls of rubble masonry, and a roof constructed of wooden planks and waterproof clay or simply by large flat slabs (Pedley 2011: 86). Shaft graves as those found in Grave Circles A and B at Mycenae are rare on the Greek mainland. The best-known parallels other than Mycenae are: Lerna, Ayios Stephanos, and Argos corresponding to the period 1600-1500 B.C. Others found in Knossos (Crete), Kambi, Zakynthos and sites in Attica like Alyki, Athens, Perati and possible Varkiza belong to a later period (Dickinson 1999). The depth of Mycenaean shaft tombs would range from 1.0 m to 4.0 m with a mound constructed for each grave and stelae erected (Komita 1982: 59-60).

The stelae from Mycenae constitute the first large-scale relief sculpture of the mainland Greek Bronze Age. They were decorated with chariot scenes that can be interpreted as illustrations of battle, hunting or even races at funeral games as well as abstract decoration such as spirals and wavy lines. The items included in the rich burials of the two Grave Circles at Mycenae, seem to glorify the brutal activity of war. Not only were chariots shown participating in battle and hunt scenes, weapons filled the tombs and at least one vessel of precious metal depicted a small-scale narrative of siege and battle (Feldman and Sauvage 2010: 139). Figure 15.8 represents an LH I stele that includes both a chariot and wavy and spiral lines decorations (Betancourt 2007: 143, fig. 7.10). Plain stelae (i.e. non-sculpted) have been found above a few contemporary graves at nearby Argos, but the practice of marking burials with what are in effect decorated tombstones is peculiar to the Shaft Grave era in Mycenae (Rutter 2017b).

Figure 15.8: Shaft grave, stone-stele, Mycenae Circle A, LH1 (Ht 1.34 m. /51.48 in.) (after National Archaeological Museum, Athens)

2.2 Mycenae 1200 B.C. - A time for culture revival and change

In the 13th century B.C. the citadel of Mycenae was expanded to bring some of the ancestral tombs inside the city walls. The stelae were erected at the new higher level, and a more monumental circular wall around the Grave Circle was constructed at the same time. The new wall, built as a double circle of vertical stone with additional slabs across the top, was fitted with an entrance facing the roadway so visitors could enter the circular cemetery to see the final resting place of the city's early kings. Steles may have been added, since one sculpted tombstone was found belonging to the 12th century B.C. (Betancourt 2007: 142).

The revival of old customs was not the only change incorporated in the Mycenaean culture at the beginning of the 12th century B.C. In the latter half of the LH IIIC period, two new funerary practices made their first significant appearance on the mainland: cremation and individual burial in cist tombs. This sudden change in Mycenae's burial methods in the late 12th century B.C. was likely based on earlier roots (cf the cremation cemetery of Troy VI-h, the presence of numerous cremations in Mycenaeanizing chamber tombs at Müskebi near Bodrum on the west Anatolian coast, and Hittite burial customs) (Rutter 2017b).

Scholars now consider the cist grave burial to be simply a revival of Middle Helladic burial customs. In fact, individual cist grave burials had never entirely disappeared in Greece during the period of Mycenaean palatial civilization, and it is probable that, during the unsettled times of the LH IIIC period, people were reluctant to go to the effort of digging out large chamber tombs for collective burial when the chances of their remaining settled in a given area, for any length of time were relatively slim or it may simply be a lack of authority by the leaders to mobilize labor in large numbers. Chamber tombs disappear as a mainland Greek burial form before the end of LH IIIC (Rutter 2017a).

2.2.1 Warrior vase and the 'painted grave stele'

Probably one the most significant object related to the understanding of the Mycenaean military culture is expressed by the Mycenaean Warrior Vase (Figure 15.9), found by Heinrich Schliemann on the acropolis of Mycenae. Dated to early LH III C period, which Egyptian chronology fixes at the early 12th century B.C. (Marinatos and Hirmer 1960: pls. 232-33; Lacy 1967: 224) it is probably one of the best-known pieces of Late Helladic pottery.

It shows on one side a troop of six soldiers wearing equipment that bear comparison with the Homeric poems descriptions of his heroes' armor. It depicts helmets with similar shape, horns, upper crest, holder, plumes and reinforced elements on their surface, yet with certain differences (Salimbeti 2019) (Figure 15.10). The first variation (I) shows the helmet equipped with a large chin strap. The second variation (II) seems equipped with cheek guards as represented by embossed elements and the third variation (III) clearly indicates the presence of the cheek guards plus three bands around the upper crest holder.

Figure 15.9: Mycenean warrior vase with helmets, Tiryns (after Archaeological Museum of Nauplion)

I II III

Figure 15.10: Warrior helmets: differences (after Salimbeti 2019)

On the other side of the vase, five men in procession are depicted dressed similarly to the six on the front, except they wear bristled helmets instead of horned ones, and they carry spears raised for throwing. The bristled helmet is the 'hedgehog'-type known in Mycenae since the 13th century B.C., and which became common in the 12th century B.C. (Figure 15.11). It does not show cheek guards, seems to be re-enforced with metal bosses and has a short central crest.

Figure 15.11: Warrior helmet: "Hedgehog" (after Salimbeti 2019)

According to Burke (2008), the Mycenaean warrior vessel was excavated in close proximity to grave Circle A and near other burials of the Late Bronze Age, suggesting that it may have functioned as a marker or was associated in some way with a burial. The depicted scene might in some ways be compared with the funeral games of Patroklos, as described in the Homeric Poems. This is what Kitts (2008: 21) wrote on this subject:

> "Many features of the cremation sacrifices on the pyre of Patroklos in Iliad 23 are unique to the poem and beg comparison with non-poetic evidence. Archaeological finds of cremation rituals from the Geometric period, themes from archaic Greek hero cults, and Hittite ritual instructions for sacrifices on the pyres of kings are a few of these *comparata*. Given the constraints of poetic composition in hexameter and the presumably evolving nature of the poem over centuries, reflections of this evidence in the poem can only be conjectured."

The closest parallel to the Warrior Vase is the 'Grave stele from Mycenae' originally inscribed and then painted over in fresco, known as the reused Painted Grave Stele (Burke 2008: fig. 4:11) (Figure 15.12).

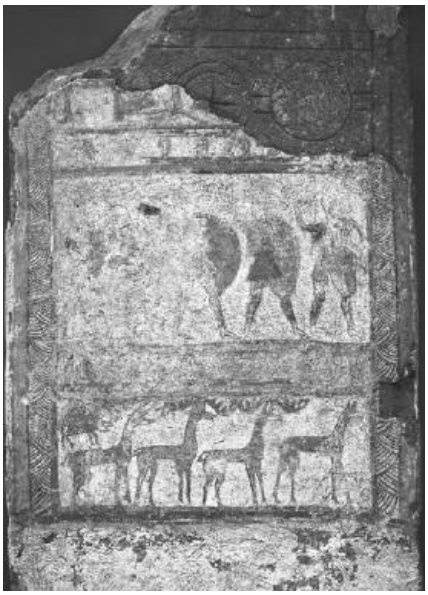


Figure 15.12: Sixteenth century B.C. Mycenaean painted grave-stele (after Burke 2008)

It is dated to a period contemporary to the Warrior Vase. The central panel shows armed soldiers in procession, which is very similar to the Warrior Vase figures. Burke considers the Painted Grave stele as funerary art, and its close similarity to the Warrior Vase further supports the identification of the vase from Mycenae also as a funerary memorial. There are other precedents of Mycenaean warriors using horned helmets. Some of the Late Achaean and Aegean helmets evidence c. 1300-1100 B.C. based on pottery, fresco, sculpture and partial findings are shown in Figure 15.13 (Salimbeti 2019).

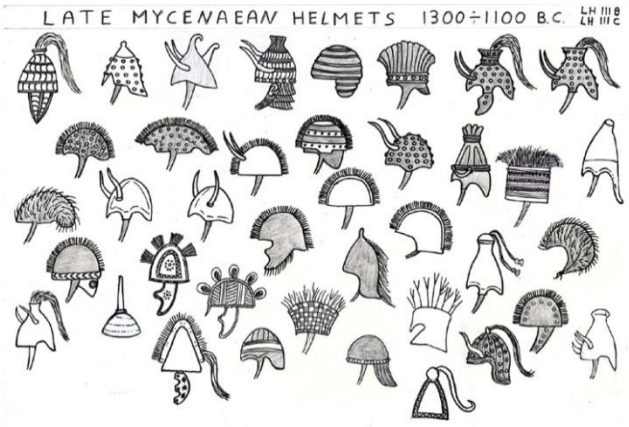


Figure 15.13: Mycenaean helmets (1300-1100 B.C.) (after Salimbeti 2019)

According to Mederos (2017: 36), circular shields, also appeared in Greece during the LH IIIB1, 1325-1225 BC. The best example is a fresco from the Palace of Pylos (destroyed around 1200 B.C.), depicting a hunting scene, in which one of the hunters is holding a circular shield and a small spear (Lang 1969: pl. 122). Another example is provided by a krater from Tiryns, belonging to the LH IIIB2, where a series of anthropomorphic birds are carrying a small circular shield with rivets and a spear (Schliemann 1886: pl. 14). Additional evidence is provided by the previously mentioned Mycenaean vase (Figure 15.9) in which the warriors are also carrying circular shields.

The round shield used by the LH III B/C Mycenaean Greeks seems to have been invented by the Sherden in the 13th century B.C. (Herda 2013: 444).

2.2.2 Mycenaean Material Culture of the 13th–12th centuries B.C

The analysis of the archaeological findings gathered in Mycenae (corresponding to the 13th–12th centuries B.C.) represent a major change that can be summarized as a combination of: the revival of the 16th century B.C. burial culture, the new adopted burial changes influenced by foreign customs and the characteristics of their military equipment. It can be said that the society that left Mycenae and Argos and headed to Cyprus could have been characterized by the use of the following features:

a) Stelae as funerary markers.
b) Cremation (at least partially) as a means to honor important people.
c) Cist graves.
d) Round shields (Not V-notched).
e) Horned helmets.
f) 'Hedgehog' helmets (see also §3 below)
g) Chariots and abstract spiral and wavy lines decorations similar to those used in the 16th century B.C. Mycenaean steles.

2.3 Mycenaean migration to Cyprus in the 12th century - culture transfer

After the destruction of the palaces (LH IIIC) new sites appear in Perati in Eastern Attica, Lefkandi, Emborio on Chios, Ialysus on Rhodes and Enkomi and Kition on Cyprus (Hall 2007: 48). The fact that cremation suddenly appears in those sites, may signal the route taken by certain Mycenaean warriors, between the Argolid and Cyprus. Theoretically these findings could help track a group of possible dissidents or people being expulsed from their homeland, since Tiryns, Mycenae and other Argolid Peninsula locations continued to be inhabited even after the destruction of the palaces.

2.3.1 Cremation and stelae

The material culture derived from the findings in Cyprus linked to those coming from the Argolid definitely indicates some affinity with the Mycenaean revived culture of the 12th century B.C. If the Zorea definition of Tjeker is adopted as encompassing all people from the Argolid that left the region at the end of the 13th century B.C. or at the beginning of the 12th century B.C. (see Chapter 1: Introduction) it needs also to be accepted that the Tjeker were not a homogeneous group. Although all of these groups have close ties to the Argolid, they could have had certain cultural differences in accordance to their place of origin. These different sub-cultures were brought with each group to Cyprus and possibly later to Canaan. The archaeological findings in Cyprus support the possibility of a Mycenaean presence in the island, definitely in line with the 'Mycenaean revived culture' of the 12th century B.C. (Karageorghis 2000: 12).

Mycenaean settlers arrived also in Kourion (Latin: *Curium*) an important ancient city-state on the southwestern coast of Cyprus (west of Limasol). Herodotus (5.113) and Strabo (14.6.3) claimed that Kourion was founded by Greeks from Argos (Tsetskhladze 2006: 81). The most important find in Cyprus in connection with the practice of cremation is represented by Kourion-Kaloriziki tomb 40. While commenting on this tomb Catling (1964: 244) wrote: "Its occupiers may have been the first generation emigrants from the Aegean."

Tomb 40 was looted before it could be excavated, but contained a wealth of bronze objects, including an urn which held the cremated remains of a middle-aged woman buried with military equipment. The male buried in tomb 40 could have been in command of a group of immigrants who settled in Kourion in the 12th century B.C. and opened a new burial ground in Kaloriziki. The burial rites – cremation, burial of a pair of amphoroid metal kraters as urns – are unique in Cyprus at that time.

Some of the burial gifts, especially the weapons, go back to Sub-Minoan and Sub-Mycenaean prototypes (11th century B.C.). The tradition of élite male burials furnished with rich ensembles of weapons is rooted in the Aegean, continuing traditions of the post-palatial era of the 12th century B.C., LMIIIC and LH IIIC (Matthäus and Schumacher-Matthäus 2015: 89). The time when the couple of Kourion-Kaloriziki tomb 40 was interred constitutes a decisive turning point in the history of Cyprus. This tomb also confirms that some Aegeans cremated their honored dead similar to how the Homeric Poems describe the cremation ceremony of Patroclus.

2.3.2 Military equipment: horned helmets and shields

Horned helmets were also identified in Cyprus. An embossed helmet with short horns was identified in a seal c. 1200 B.C. (Salimbeti 2019) (Figure 15.14) although its origin is not clear.

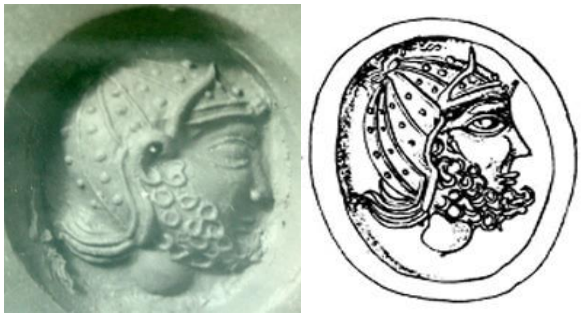


Figure 15.14: Seal found in Cyprus c. 1200 B.C. (after Salimbeti 2019)

Around 1870 archaeological excavations were started in Enkomi by the brothers Luigi and Alessandro Palma di Cesnola, who discovered numerous objects in its local necropolis. They were followed by archaeologists of the British Museum in 1896, John Meyers and Menelaos Markides of the Cyprus Museum in 1913 and the 'Swedish Expedition' in 1930. Excavations efforts were renewed in 1960 by the 'French Expedition' headed by Claude Schaeffer and the Cypriot archaeologist Porphyrios Dikaios, from the Cyprus Department of Antiquities.

Two bronze statuettes with horned helmets were discovered in this site. The "Ingot God" (Figure 15.5) was dated c. 1200 B.C. and the "Horned God" (Figures 15.16 and 15.17) dated c. LH IIIC. The Horned God either imitates a hedgehog-style animal skin or may have been made of embossed bronze to better support the long horns. Although these have been attributed to local gods (Dissinger 2013), their true origin is unknown and definitely cannot be associated with the Sherden (see Chapter 4: Sherden). Although Barnett (1975: 376) suggests that such statuettes confirm that Tjeker and other Sea Peoples came from Cyprus to attack Egypt; it is possible that these statuettes represent Mycenaeans from the Argolid that arrived in Cyprus. Figure 15.15 also shows the use of a circular (not-notched) shield, similar to those used in 12th century B.C. Mycenae.

Figure 15.15: The bronze "Ingot God" from Enkomi, 12th century B.C. (after Cyprus Archaeological Museum, Nicosia)

Figure 15.16: The bronze "Horned God" from Enkomi (after Cyprus Archaeological Museum, Nicosia)

Figure 15.17: Archaeologist Porphyrios Dikaios with the statuette of the horned helmet warrior (after Department of Antiquities, Cyprus)

2.3.3 Mycenaean decorations in Cypriot objects

Mommsen and Maran (2001: 95) aimed to determine the provenance of Aegean Bronze Age pottery through the use of N.A.A (Neutron Activation Analysis) and analyzed multiple samples including some unearthed in Cyprus and Canaan. Two workshops were identified in the Argolid as producing such pictorial pottery, Mycenae/Berbati and Tiryns/Asine. All pictorial pieces analyzed unearthed in the eastern Mediterranean (Cyprus, Tel Dan and Tell Abu Hawam) belong to these two chemical groups and are highly probable imports from the Argolid. The predominant group that produced this pottery was the Mycenae-Berbati and most probably originated from the specific workshop excavated in Berbati (Mommsen and Maran 2001). All the

pictorial vases that were found in Cyprus or in Canaan are dated to the LH IIIA (1400-1300 B.C.) and LH IIIB (1300-1200 B.C.).

The use of spirals and wavy decorations so peculiar to the Tjeker ceramics unearthed in Cyprus (see Chapter 13: Material Culture); indicates the adoption of the Old Mycenaean art form in objects of daily use: Bowls with wishbone handles from Kourion, decorated with panels of abstract Aegean design (Furumark 1944: 239), bell kraters from Enkomi with Levantine and Aegean motifs (Dikaios 1969-71: 852; Kling 1989: 124-5) and Aegean-based wavy line decoration used on locally made LH IIIC:1b wares (Dikaios 1969-71: 853-5; Iacovou 1988: 11) are a few examples that prove beyond doubt a Mycenaean presence in Cyprus.

Kling (1989: 171-3; 2000: 282-286) summarizes a wide range of LC IIIA pottery wares and decorative features that combine local Cypriot, Aegean and Levantine elements. For example, a strainer jug from Alassa bears a range of motifs (spirals and geometric designs) linked to Aegean style decoration. According to Knapp (2008: 268), the appearance of Aegean pottery shapes and decorative motifs on 12th century B.C. Cyprus was a gradual rather than a sudden process.

The presence of Greeks in the island is undeniable. A bronze spit inscribed with the Greek personal name 'Opheltas' from Palaepaphos-Skales tomb 49 (c. 1000 B.C.) has been claimed as firm evidence of Greek-speaking residents in Cyprus (Karageorghis 1983: 411-415; Knapp 2008: 287- 289).

2.4 Contacts with Iberia: helmets and shields

At the end of the 12th century B.C. beginning of the 11th century B.C. dramatic change takes place in Iberia. First, there is some change in burial methods including some cremation. Cremation appears for the first time in Iberia clearly indicating that it was a custom brought to the land, possibly by a new group. Celestino Pérez and López-Ruiz (2006: 91) wrote:

> "It was probably first applied to the most prestigious burials and must have coexisted with the inhumation system for some generations."

Second the sudden change from horizontal slabs to vertical stelae (see Chapter 16: Warrior Stones). Third, the hints provided by the depictions in those stelae that included anthropomorphic representations, the horned and the hedgehog helmets. Scholars have different opinions about the distinctive representations of helmets depicted in the warrior stelae. Torres Ortiz (1999: 25) subdivided them in two groups: horned helmets and crest helmets.

These findings represent a match to both of the helmets used by the Mycenaean warriors in Mycenae as well as Cyprus. Fourth, the round shields (with no V-notches) that appeared in the Peninsular-stelae also followed the depictions that appeared in the painting of the 12th century B.C. warrior vase (Figure 15.9) and the Cypriot "ingot god" (Figure 15.15).

Even more, according to Jung (2018) round shields of variable size, equipped with a central handgrip on the inside and bosses on the outside, constitute the characteristic protective

armour of on all the Medinet Habu mentioned reliefs. By contrast, during the preceding 14th century B.C., such shields neither figure among the weapons of the pharaonic armies and their enemies nor among those of Aegean warriors. The earliest round shields in the Aegean are found on Mycenaean vessels and frescoes dating to the later part of LH IIIB, *i.e*. to the second half of the 13th century (Jung and Mehofer 2013: 127-130; Kardamaki 2009: 51, 285-286, pl. 11: 147).

These identified changes correlate pretty well with the changes in the Mycenaean culture that took place in the 12th century B.C. in the Argolid prior to their departure to Cyprus.

Although is pretty challenging to differentiate and compare between the warrior equipment used by the Sherden to the one used by the Aegeans (see Chapter 4 for the Sherden helmets and Figure 15.13 for all the helmet-variations used by different Mycenaean/Tjeker groups in distinctive geographies and at different time-periods), it is evident the use of horned helmets at the end of the 12th century B.C. and beginning of the 11th century B.C. was not limited only to the Sherden.

The Mycenaean warrior vase (which is from the city of Mycenaea) clearly confirms that different Tjeker groups used different helmets in addition to the feathered head-dress depicted in Medinet Habu. They used "hedgehog" and also horned helmets as depicted in the vase and confirmed by the archaeological findings in Enkomi corresponding to the 12th century B.C.

Regarding other Sherden warrior equipment (swords and round shields), as they appear in the depictions found in Medinet Habu (e.g. Battle of Djahi) and later in the Sardinian bronzetti, do not differ much of the equipment used by the Myceanaean. Although there may be some difficulty in distinguishing the two groups by the use of their military equipment, their differences became obvious when the burial methods are considered since the Sherden did not use cremation at all.

What can be learned from the stelae is that, from one side, these monuments followed a process of continuity, since the basic depictions that originally appeared in the slabs expanded and evolved into more complex art-work including multiple depictions of personal effects while at the same time there is a recognizable substantial change in comparison to the previous phase.

3. Investigating headdresses and helmets

The presence of Mycenaean ceramic sherds in several Iberian locations sparked an interest in investigating a possible link between the Mycenaean and the warrior stelae depictions. This investigation was conducted with the following elements in mind:

a) To acquire a better understanding about the helmets and head-dresses used by the Aegeans at the time of the battles with the Egyptians as described in the Medinet Habu depictions (1175 B.C.) and their similarity to the head-dresses used by some Tjeker in Cyprus (see game-box from Enkomi) and even in Canaan (grotesque coffins of Beit Shean).

b) To investigate the different helmets and head dresses possibly used about the same time-period in certain Argolid sites, and their correlation with the findings in the Levant.

c) To explore the existence of a possible link between the Argolid, the Levant and Iberia.

3.1 Feathered headdress in the Levant

These kind of headdresses (Figure 15.18) identified in the Levant had typically three components: A leather cap, a tiara, and decorative elements. Depictions of Tjeker headdress during the 12th century B.C. in the Levant include those depicted in Medinet Habu, Egypt (Battle of the Delta and Battle of Djahi, c. 1175 B.C.), the ivory game box (c. 1185-1175 B.C., Enkomi, Cyprus) (see Chapter 7: Cyprus and Ugarit), and the grotesque sarcophagi (1130 B.C., Beit Shean, Canaan) (see Chapter 12: Jordan and Arabah Valleys). Although some Aegean headdresses revealed these same three elements, they sometimes showed only one or two components (e.g. the leather cap alone or the leather cap with tiara).

Figure 15.18: Depictions in Medinet Habu: Tjeker head-dress (after Salimbeti 2019)

3.1.1 Featherheads in Medinet Habu, Cyprus and Canaan

The so-called feathered headdress is the most characteristic feature attributed to three of the Sea Peoples groups depicted in Medinet Habu: Philistines, Tjeker and Denyen (Nelson 1930: pl. 44) (Figure 15.18). This type of headdress does not appear in Egyptian depictions before or after the Battle of the Delta or the Battle of Djahi and has been studied by several scholars (Dothan, T. 1967: 14; 1982a: 274-275; Sandars 1978: 134; Muhly 1984: 45; Mountjoy 2005: 423-427; Yasur-Landau 2010; 2012; Emanuel 2015/2016). Analysis of both the Egyptian reliefs and the Cypriot game box at Enkomi (Figure 15.19) revealed that such headdress included a leather cap (Dothan, T. 1982a: 12).

Figure 15.19: Headdress in a game box – Enkomi, Cyprus (after Salimbeti 2019)

This idea was reaffirmed and extended to suggest the leather cap was decorated with feathers (Mountjoy 2005: 426).

The metal band itself showed several types of decorations (mainly zig-zags) and beads. It is possible that different diadem-decorations indicate different military ranks (Dothan, T. 1982a: 13). Perhaps they are emblems of the clans into which each group was subdivided (Yadin 1963: 249, 345). It is also not clear if the row of strips were feathers, reeds, leather strips or horsehair (Dothan, T. 1982a). Many depictions at Medinet Habu show the helmets secured to the heads with straps or strings tied below the chins (Yasur-Landau 2012), as does the Enkomi game box. A typical "feather headgear" is also worn by a warrior represented in a seal from Enkomi (Figure 15.20) dated 1190-1180 B.C. (Salimbetti 2019).

Figure 15.20: An Enkomi seal showing a warrior with a "feather headgear" (after Salimbeti 2019)

Additional confirmation of Aegean presence in the Levant is provided by a depiction of feathered headgear found in a Mycenaean style pottery (Figure 15.21) dated around 1200 B.C. and found in Ugarit. The findings in Medinet Habu, Cyprus and Ugarit confirm that around 1200 B.C. the Tjeker force that fought the Egyptians were using a "feathered headgear".

Figure 15.21: “Feathered headgear” Mycenaean pottery in Ugarit (after Salimbeti 2019)

Also in Canaan there are indications of the use of featherhead head-dress. It is identified in one of the grotesque coffins unearthed from the cemetery of Beit Shean (Emanuel 2015/2016: 2) (Figure 22: #4).

Figure 15.22: Grotesque coffin lids: Beit Shean cemetery (after Emanuel 2015/2016)

3.2 Tiaras (helmet-bands)

Of the three components previously described (cap, band and head-feathers), the only one that could have survived for more than three millennia is the metal tiara. Comparable Achaean tiaras have been dated to LH IIIC. Fragments excavated in Kallithea, Rhodes (Yalouris 1960) may have been part of a circular band (Papadopoulos 1999: 272; Papadopoulou 2007: 465). Similar decorations were found on a Naue II sword scabbard dated to LH IIIC in a Krini tomb, near Patras (135 miles west of Athens) (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994: 181-182; Papadopoulos 1999: 271). Additional parts of bands and knobs have been found in Lakkithra, Cephalonia (Greece) and Phaistos (Crete) (Yasur-Landau 2012).

East of the island of Crete on the peninsula of Sitia, north of the present village of Nea Presos (formerly Vaveli), an almost complete tiara-like object was found in a LM IIIC tholos

tomb in Praisos-Fotoula (Kanta 1980: 180-181; Matthäus 1980: 308 Nr. 476; Moschos 2009: 358) and dated to c. 1200 B.C. (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006: 174). This cylindrical object (Salimbeti 2019) (Figure 15.23) was built of rows of thin bronze bands separated by three registers of knobs (Yasur-Landau 2012).

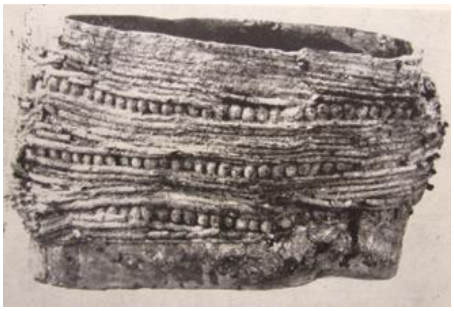


Figure 15.23: The tiara-like object of Praisos-Fotoula (after Salimbeti 2019)

The bucket-shaped, cylindrical helmet was decorated with alternating single, horizontal ribs of rows and ornamental rivets (Mödlinger 2012). Its decoration (strips and rivets) is very similar to the finds from Kallithea and Portes-Kephalovryson and its dimensions may fit a head. The cylindrical shapes of the Portes and Fotoula helmets (6) seemed similar to the helmets of the Sea Peoples (Moschos 2009: 258; Jung 2009: 82-83).

Another well preserved specimen of an Achaean tiara-like helmet was found in a grave in Portes-Kephalovryson, Limassol, Cyprus, and dated around 1200-1100 B.C. (Jung 2009; Moschos 2009: figs. 1-2) (Figure 15.24). The 16 cm. high helmet is beautifully decorated with bronze strips consisting of horizontal ribs that alternate with single horizontal rows of ornamental rivets. The two ends of the helmet are dressed with wider bronze bands that bear relief ridges at the edges. The 16 strips and the rivets were fixed on an inside headgear made of tightly knitted straw (Kolonas 2001:260; Papadopoulos 1999: pl. LIXb). The overall construction is reminiscent of the Fotoula tiara or helmet.

Figure 15.24: The helmet of Portes-Kephalovryson (Cyprus) (after Salimbeti 2019)

The findings of these tiaras in Achaea and Cyprus provide additional proof that during the 12th century B.C. Sea Peoples battles against the Egyptians the feather headdress was extensively used.

3.3 Conical helmets

The following sub-sections present the findings of conical helmets in different areas of the Peloponnese.

3.3.1 Conical helmets in Mycenae

Several different designs of conical helmets pertaining to the LH IIIB/C period were found in Mycenae. A conical helmet or cap, probably made of perishable material is depicted in a krater fragment (Figure 15.25).

Figure 15.25: Conical helmet, Mycenae (after Salimbeti 2019)

On a seal stone, probably dated around LH IIIB/C (Salimbeti 2019), a conical helmet without cheek guards is represented. The helmet is made of two rows of boar tusks and it has a large round crest similar to the one of some early Achaean helmets (Figure 15.26).

Figure 15.26: Conical helmet, Mycenae (after Salimbeti 2019)

From the LH IIIB/C period there are some ivory sheets from Mycenae representing conical boar tusks helmets that seem to be equipped with neck protection but without cheek guards (Figure 15.27).

Figure 15.27: Representations of conical boar tusk helmets (after Salimbeti 2019)

Small ivory representations of boar tusk helmets dated LH IIIB seemed to be equipped with horse tail and large cheek guards reinforced with two lines of boar tusks (Figure 15.28).

Figure 15.28: Small ivories - boar tusk helmets (after Salimbeti 2019)

Simple conical helmets with concentric bands “beehive” style are still present in the late Helladic period as attested in these pottery fragments also from Mycenae dated around LH IIIC (Figure 15.29).

Figure 15.29: Simple conical helmets (after Salimbeti 2019)

3.3.2 Conical helmets in Tiryns

In a pottery fragment from Tiryns dated to the LH IIIB, a simple conical boar tusks helmet is depicted alongside a tower and a figure of eight shields (Figure 15.30).

Figure 15.30: Conical boar tusks helmet, Tiryns (after Salimbeti 2019)

This specimen is very important because it provides evidence that these defensive elements, even if less common, were still used in the late periods of the Late Helladic period.

3.3.3 Conical helmets in Pylos

On a fresco from Pylos dated around LH IIIB a clear representation of a conical embossed helmet with upper knot, long nose and neck guards is depicted. The "hollow-eyed" helmet was probably made of bronze (Figure 15.31).

Figure 15.31: A conical embossed helmet, Pylos (after Salimbeti 2019)

3.3.4 Conical helmets in Cyprus

In a Mycenaean krater from Pyla-Kokkinokremos, Cyprus dated to LH IIIB (Salimbeti 2019) (Figure 15.32), warriors and charioteers are wearing conical helmets.

Figure 15.32: Conical helmets in Pyla-Kokkinokremos, Cyprus (after Salimbeti 2019)

Another conical helmet with upper curl is represented in a naval scene on a Mycenaean krater from Enkomi, Cyprus, dated LH IIIB1 (Salimbeti). In this case the helmet seems also equipped with nose protection and neck guard (Figure 15.33).

Figure 15.33: Conical helmets in Enkomi, Cyprus (after Salimbeti 2019)

A conical helmet is worn by the warrior or deity represented in this bronze statuette covered with a gold lamina from Cyprus dated about 1200 B.C. (Figure 15.34).

Figure 15.34: Conical helmets in Enkomi, Cyprus (after Salimbeti 2019)

This type of high conical helmet with upper knot is also depicted in two hunting scenes on a rhyton of faience from Cyprus (Figure 15.35) dated to the 13th century B.C. (Salimbeti 2019).

Figure 15.35: Conical helmet in Cyprus (after Salimbeti 2019)

3.4 'Hedgehog' helmets

Since in the Iberian stelae iconography there were hints that could be linked to 'hedgehog' helmets (see Chapter 16: Warrior Stones) we present below the findings in the Argolid, the Peloponnese and other areas.

3.4.1 'Hedgehog' helmets in Mycenae

The krater sherds in Figure 15.36 illustrate two types of 'hedgehog' helmets, one of which is equipped with very large cheek-covers. Because of its long and bended bristles, this helmet was assumed to be made of untanned hairy animal skin.

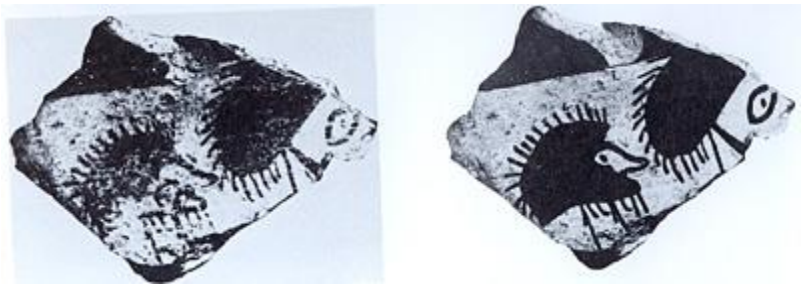


Figure 15.36: Mycenaean ‘hedgehog’ helmets (after Salimbeti 2019)

Figure 15.37, taken from a Mycenaean krater sherd dated to the LH IIIC, shows a helmet with a rounded crown with a fringe of bristles; more likely it is made of metal since the depiction is more conical and ‘rigid’ than the usual ‘hedgehog’ style helmet.

Figure 15.37: Mycenaean ‘hedgehog’ krater sherd (after Salimbeti 2019)

Another pottery fragment from Mycenae dated LH IIIC corresponds also to a ‘hedgehog’ style helmet (Figure 15.38). It is important to emphasize that this helmet was probably reinforced in the lower part by a metal decorated ring.

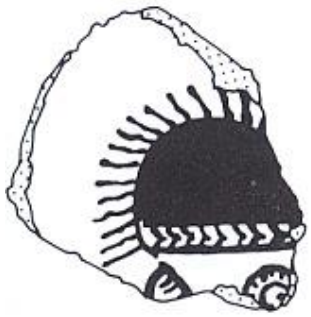


Figure 15.38: ‘Hedgehog’ helmet reinforced by a ring (after Salimbeti 2019)

3.4.2 'Hedgehog' helmets in Tiryns

Several paintings in pottery from Tiryns also indicate the use of a 'hedgehog' style. In the LH IIIC painting (Figure 15.39), warriors and charioteers are also equipped with large round helmets with short upper crest or made of untanned animal skin 'hedgehog' style. In a depiction dated to LH IIIC (Figure 15.40), the warrior is also equipped with a large helmet with short upper crest or made of untanned animal skin 'hedgehog' style.

Figure 15.39: Possible hedgehog helmet in a Tiryns painting (after Salimbeti 2019)

Figure 15.40: Tyrins, large helmet with short upper crest (after Salimbeti 2019)

Another 'hedgehog' helmet from Tiryns (Figure 15.41) shows such a helmet equipped with a short central crest that could have been made of perishable material (like untanned animal skin) or could also have been a simple low profile bronze helmet with a short crest.

Figure 15.41: Hedgehog helmet with crest (after Salimbeti 2019)

‘Hedgehog’ style helmets are also depicted in this other pottery fragment from Tiryns dated LH IIIC (Figure 15.42).

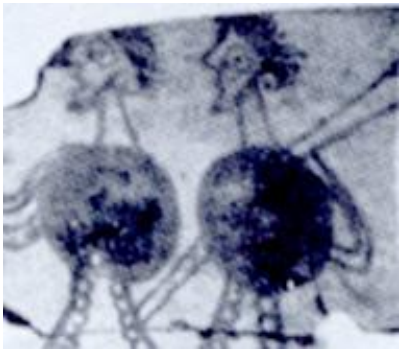


Figure 15.42: Hedgehog style helmets and circular shields (after Salimbeti 2019)

These types of helmets were largely used during the last periods of the Late Helladic time as well attested in several representations. Most of these helmets were more likely made of leather or untanned animal skin as attested in the *Iliad* (X.257-259).

3.4.3 ‘Hedgehog’ helmets in Anatolia

In this naval battle scene depicted on a krater from Bademgedigi Tepe in the west Anatolia dated to LH IIIC, the warriors are also equipped with large helmets probably made of untanned animal skin ‘hedgehog’ style (Figure 15.43).

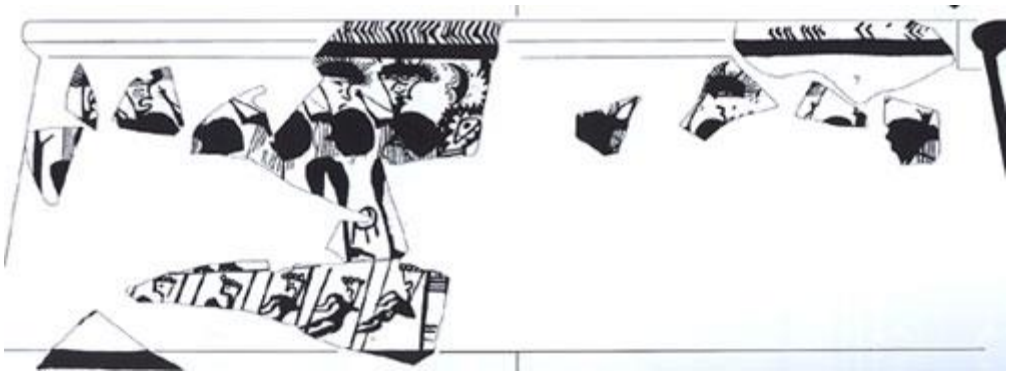


Figure 15.43: Hedgehog style helmets unearthed in Anatolia (after Salimbeti 2019)

According to Yasur-Landau (2012: 32) the Bademgediği Tepe warrior’s headgear is adorned with a single row of zigzag decoration.

3.4.4 'Hedgehog' conical helmets in Patras

During the 12th century B.C. Mycenaeans also used 'conical hedgehog' style helmets as evidenced on a pottery fragment unearthed in a large Mycenaean/Proto-Geometric cemetery of Voudeni near Patras (Figure 15.44).

Figure 15.44: Conical hedgehog in Patras (after Salimbeti 2019)

Because of its general shape we can not exclude that this helmet could have been made of bronze with embossed decoration. Based on other helmet findings coming from this area, Moschos (2009: 358) suggests that the internal parts of these helmets were probably made of tightly knitted straw.

3.4.5 'Hedgehog' helmets in Cyprus

Spiky headdresses and hedge-hog helmets were also identified in Cyprus around the 12th century B.C. (Stager and Mountjoy 2007).

4. Conclusions - facts and interpretations

An intense trade activity of Mycenaean pottery was identified in the 14th – 13th centuries B.C. Products that were manufactured in Berbati-Tiryns (as testified by scientific tests) reached distant places like Tel Dan in Canaan (Chapter 11) as well as Llanete de los Moros in Iberia (see above). It is not clear who brought them there and how they reached these specific locations.

Findings of Mycenaean and Cypriot pottery manufactured in the 12th century B.C. were also unearthed in Iberia. In La Indiana a fragment with a wavy line reflects similarity with decorations used in Mycenae since the 16th century B.C., a decorative motif that also appeared in Cyprus and became one of the well-known decorations identified in Northern Canaan Tjeker's pottery during the 12th–10th century B.C. (see Chapters 7-13).

It is in this same 12th century B.C. that Mycenae experiences major cultural changes, not only in burial customs but also in the use of military equipment. Funerary practices, made their

first appearance on the mainland, including individual burials in cist tombs as well as cremations for their most prominent leaders. There is also evidence that the use of stelae in the 16th century B.C. Myceane as a burial feature also shows again in the 12th century B.C.

Regarding the defensive military equipment, warriors in the Argolid used numerous variations of helmets and head-dresses, as they are well attested in findings, and art representations. During the 12th–10th centuries B.C. their diversity is so vast that the exact identification of what group was wearing them, becomes a pretty challenging endeavor

Some of this same defensive equipment has been identified as being used in Cyprus while the findings unearthed in Canaan are very limited. It is clear now that the evidence found in Medinet Habu, Cyprus and Canaan about the feather-headdresses, confirms that those using this type of head-dress were the warriors that fought the Egyptians at the beginning of the 12th century B.C. in both, the land battle of Djahi and the naval battle of the mouth of the Nile. Those that wore the feather-headdresses in the fights against the Egyptians at the beginning of the 12th century and found refuge in Cyprus, were the groups that decided to return to Canaan half a century later to successfully destroy the Egyptian garrisons.

The first stelae (per se) unearthed in the Iberian Peninsula probable belong to the end of the 12th century B.C. or the beginning of the 11th century B.C. The appearance of the anthropomorphic depictions may represent at least, two distinctive populations. One characterized mainly by conical helmets and V-notched shields, the other by the depictions of horned helmets and circular shields (see Chapter 16: Warrior Stones). The most interesting components exhibited by the Mycenaean are the round shields and the horned helmets probably adopted from the Sherden (Herda 2013: 444). Comparative evidence between the Mycenaean and the Sherden military equipment is presented in Figure 15.45.

Object	***Mycenanean***	***Sherden***
Circular shield	Mycenaean Warrior Vase; Palace of Pylos; Tiryns	Medinet Habu, *bronzetti*
Horned Helmets	Mycenean Warrior Vase; Kition Statuette	Djahi – Medinet Habu, *bronzetti*
Swords	Iberian warrior slabs	Djahi – Medinet Habu (not in *bronzetti*)
Spears	Mycenean Warrior Vase, Iberian warrior slabs	Djahi – Medinet Habu

Figure 15.45: Aegean/Tjeker and Sherden warrior equipment - Archaeological findings (12th–10th centuries B.C.)

In relation with findings in Iberia, the use of vertical stelae is being adopted and some cremations are also identified (see Chapter 16: Warrior Stones). Although not easy to proof it is possible to affirm that the use of stelae and several of the depictions exhibited in the warrior stones (in particular those related to defensive equipment) have some affinity to Mycenaean burial customs. At least two different types of horned helmets were identified in the warrior

stones depictions. Since the exact dating of those stones has been proven to be extremely difficult, there is a possibility that those first depictions of horned helmets and circular shields could be linked to a Mycenaean presence and/or influence; while later depictions of horned helmets (centuries later) could be linked to a second group of visitors that used similar equipment.

Chapter 16: Warrior Stones

As established in the literature, the so-called 'warrior stones' are a fundamental component in the study of Iberian history between the 13th and 8th centuries B.C. Due to their relatively high number and their concentration in the areas of the Peninsular Southwest, they have attracted the attention of numerous archaeologists. The evolution of their iconography represents the best testimony in the understanding of foreign influence on the local Iberian population. Nevertheless, their interpretation has become one of the most intriguing challenges, starting from their main purpose as well as the significance of their iconography, whose elements hint about the existence of social complexity.

1. Slab-graves

The older stones were laid flat on the ground and are labeled 'slabs'. The ends of the slabs were left blank without decoration. These slabs are relatively thin and usually 1.70 m. long, which has prompted the hypothesis that they were part of funerary practices in which they were placed horizontally to cover inhumation graves (Almagro Basch 1966: 199; Almagro Gorbea 1977: 164; Bendala Galán 1977: 180; Celestino Pérez 2001: 143-145; Celestino Pérez and López-Ruiz 2006: 89). Figure 16.1 depicts examples from Foios and Brozas (Díaz-Guardamino 2010: Cat. No. 305 and Cat. No. 258).

Most of the warrior-slabs were found in modern Portugal's Tagus valley/Alentejan region between the northern Tagus River and the southern Algarve region and in northern Spanish Extremadura (Almagro Basch 1966; Celestino Pérez 2001; Harrison 2004; Díaz-Guardamino 2010). Slabs were used before the stelae *per se* showed up. Careful analysis of the slabs' locations helps track the migration of groups from their Atlantic locations in northern Iberia towards the Guadiana valley (Celestino Pérez 1990: 15).

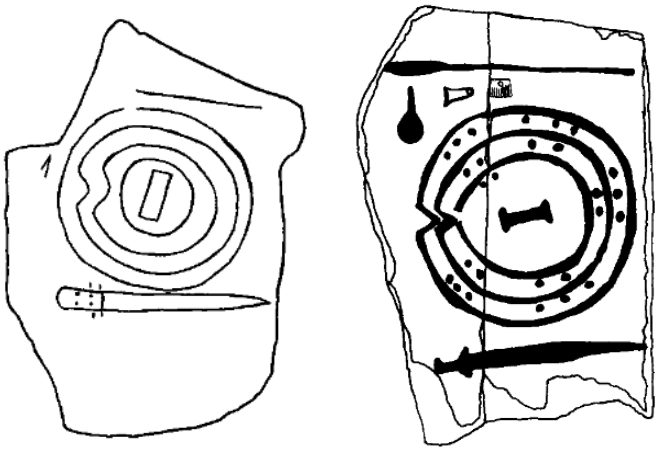


Figure 16.1: Representative slabs: (left) Foios; (right) Brozas (after Díaz-Guardamino 2010)

The slabs' core was characterized by the same type of ornamental-arrangement. It included a shield, a spear and a sword, with the shield at the center of the composition and the spear and the sword lying horizontally above and below the shield, respectively (Figure 16.1).

One of the methods used to help determine the antiquity of the slabs and stelae in Beiras, Extremadura and the adjacent regions is to estimate the antiquity of objects depicted in them (Almagro Basch 1966).

1.1 V- notched shields

This type of shield was circular, with concentric ribs interrupted in one place by a V-notch; a very common element in the warrior slabs. Preliminary analyses considered these shields as Greek, Phoenician or Cypriot (McWhite 1947: 162-163; 1951: 105; Hencken 1950; Coles 1962: 158 s.; Almagro Basch 1965; 1966: 160-161, 167; Almagro Gorbea 1977: 178; 1989: 280; 1992: 639; 1998: 95; Bendala Galán 1977: 182-183; Blázquez 1985-86; 1986: 194).

There are comparable objects in the East in Delfos, Greece (2 units) (Perdrizet 1908: 25, fig. 99,103; Almagro Basch 1966: 160, fig.61; Lerat 1980: 93ff.); Mount Ida, Crete (Kunze 1931: 30 no 67 lam 43); and in Idalion and Palaeopaphos, Cyprus (Perrot and Chipiez 1885: 868-869 fig. 636; Gjerstad 1948: 214; Dikaios 1963; Lerat 1980: 102). But these Greek shields were dated to the first half of the 7th century B.C. The Cretan shield's dating ranged between the 9th century B.C. (Kunze 1931: 30, no. 67, lam. 43); first half of the 8th century B.C. (Hencken 1950: 302); and 7th century B.C. (Benson 1939: 62). The Cypriot shield dated to 800-750 B.C. (Almagro Basch 1966: 159); but not prior to Cypro-Geometric III 900-750 B.C. (Gjerstad 1948: 214).

However, the dating of these comparable shields from the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean (Greek and Cretan) between the 9th-7th centuries B.C. seems to conflict with the 12th–11th centuries B.C. depicted in the more antique Iberian slabs (Celestino Pérez 2001: 143-45, 150). The later dating of the Palaeopaphos shield may require further investigation since there may have been significant time-delays between the manufacturing of the object in Iberia and its burial in Cyprus.

There are two possible theories regarding the origin of the V-notched shields depicted in the Iberian slabs.

One relates to the Atlantic shield that was made from leather or bronze, or a combination of the two (Cunliffe 2018: 67ff.). Three similar specimens were found in Irish bogs (one of which was in Cloonbrin, Longford) (Cunliffe 2018: 67ff.). Wooden molds used to make V-notched shields were found in Kilmahamoge and Cloonlara, Ireland (Almagro Basch 1966; Torres Ortiz 2012: 455-474). Hedges *et al.* (1991: 28-129) conducted radiocarbon tests and concluded that the wood corresponds to the second millennium B.C. (Castro *et al.* 1996: 204; Celestino Pérez 2001: 134; Harrison 2004: 129). These results approximate Needham's findings (Needham *et al.* 2012) who performed tests on similar shields found in Great Britain and dated them c. 940 B.C. (+/-110) (Hedges *et al.* 1991; Celestino Pérez and López-Ruiz 2016: 168).

Based on the C^{14} dating of the leather shield from Cloonbrin; Uckelman (2014: 191) assumes that was probably invented in Ireland, and that these shields (Herszprung type) were found on the oldest Iberian warrior slabs. There are very few objects that appear in Iberia and Ireland, like these shields with notches. A way these communities could have been connected was via the metal trade network. Therefore, the V-notched shields could have been first developed in the Atlantic c. 12th century B.C. Most of the stelae depicting V-notched shields appeared in Beiras and northern Extremadura (Celestino Pérez 2001: 145) whereas only one stele was identified in the Guadalquivir Valley (Cordoba II, Cortijo de la Ribera Alta) (Torres Ortiz 2012: 465). Therefore, the Tjeker may have been exposed to these shields while exploring the northern Atlantic.

The second theory, according to Mederos Martín (2017: 36); is that circular shields, on occasions with a V-notch, appeared also in Greece during the LH IIIB1, 1325-1225 B.C. meaning that the V-notched shield could have been the standard equipment for the first groups of Tjeker that arrived to North Atlantic Iberia (see Chapter 15: Mycenaeans).

2. Warrior stelae: their evolution (c. 1050-950 B.C.)

About 140 warrior stones have been found in Iberia. These can be sub-divided into two groups. The following emphasizes the main differences between the slabs (the older stones that were laid flat on the ground) and the stelae (Figure 16.2):

#	*Characteristic*	*Slabs*	*Stelae per se*
1	Position	Horizontal	Vertical
2	Anthropomorphism	No	Yes
3	Weaponry (quantity)	Limited	Extensive
4	Personal items	None	Several

Figure 16.2: Comparison of slabs and stelae

In my opinion, careful analysis of the stelae's locations helps to track the migration of groups from their Atlantic regions towards the Guadiana valley as stated by Celestino (1990). Based on the specific location and depictions of warrior slabs, it is possible to assess that two major events occurred sometime in the 11th century B.C.: a) Groups in Atlantic Iberia migrated south from the Tagus Valley to the Guadiana Valley and b) Groups of elite-warriors that amassed large amounts of objects of Central and East Mediterranean origin (i.e. chariots, mirrors, combs, lyres, etc.) started to move in the same direction. According to Celestino Pérez and López-Ruiz (2006: 90) there-was a palpable change. This is the way they expressed it:

> "As the stelae started appearing also in the south, they incorporated new elements of clear Mediterranean origin, such as the first chariots, mirrors, ivory combs and pins, or fibulae, but they maintained the same form of monument and the basic arrangement of the images engraved on it.
>
> "New objects of prestige and weapons of Atlantic origin were then added to the graphic repertoire, such as carp's tongue swords or conical helmets."

The migration forces that moved these groups south may have occurred due to changes in Mediterranean market-demands for metals. At one point in time during the late-12th - early 11th century B.C., demand for silver may have exceeded that of tin. Once the main silver-sources were identified north of Huelva between the Guadiana River and the Guadalquivir River (or more precisely, between the Odiel and Tinto Rivers), metal-trading warriors from the eastern Mediterranean headed there. As this migration took place, the use of the slab as a funerary element to cover cist graves was abandoned and replaced with stelae. The warrior-stones changed from horizontal slabs to vertical stelae, and the depicted iconographies also changed, most notably the addition of an anthropomorph, as exemplified in the stele of Ategua (Celestino Pérez 2001: 430) (Figure 16.3).

Figure 16.3: Line drawing of the stele of Ategua (Córdoba, Spain) (after Celestino Pérez 2001)

Many of the stelae *per se* found in Extremadura and adjacent regions were made of several stones, and exposed a more comprehensive iconography, that included personal objects. The lower end of a stele stone was left undecorated and narrowed down so as to penetrate the ground and hold the stele in a vertical position. Another distinguishing feature was the use of a central anthropomorphic element as the main artistic motif. Weaponry and personal objects were relegated to supporting roles (Mederos Martín 2019b: 273).

There are differences of opinions among scholars regarding the function of these new stelae. Were these stelae indicating the position of a grave as the slabs did? According to Ruiz-Gálvez and Galán (1991: 258) many of the theories previously developed assumed that the steles of the Southwest are linked to burials and that those stelae would have been used as tombstones (Almagro Basch 1966; Almagro Gorbea 1977; Bendala Galán 1977; 1983; Fernández Miranda and Pereira Sieso 1992) but in Ruiz-Gálvez's opinion since the majority of the findings did not include adjacent graves, some considered these stelae to be location identifiers (landmarkers),

transit points and use areas "recognizable in the landscape, signaling resources and routes coherent with the importance that cattle and trade had in the economy of this time" (Ruiz-Gálvez and Galán 1991; Galán 1993: 60). Despite the fact that the answer to the question previously formulated remains unclear, identifying who the people that erected the stelae were, as well as their 11th century B.C. burial customs, will help make this determination[37].

Other elements also changed. Celestino Pérez and López-Ruiz (2006: 91) wrote:

> "It is generally believed that this substantial change not only in the shape of the stelae but also in the rich decoration that they by now incorporated, clearly associated with social prestige, was simultaneous with the introduction of cremation burials. This funerary ritual, already extensive in the Mediterranean basin, appeared only at this time in the Iberian Peninsula.
>
> "It was probably first applied to the most prestigious burials and must have coexisted with the inhumation system for some generations."

The evolution of the stelae (Figure 16.4) can be established according to the complexity of their iconography phases (Mederos Martín 2019b) and according to two models that otherwise use totally different parameters. The Mederos model (Mederos Martín 2019b) is based on perceived changes in the stelae iconography, while the Zorea model is based on a derived historical chronology and archaeological data related to the Tjeker in Canaan. The correlation of both models in the later phases of the chronology presented is remarkable considering they were derived from completely different approaches.

Phase	***Stele characteristic***	***Mederos chronology (B.C.)***	***Zorea chronology (B.C.)***	***Examples***
1	V-notched shield, spear and sword	n/a	1175-1130	Solana de Cabañas
2	Add.: Helmets and mirrors	1325-1300	1130-1050	
3	Add.: Anthropomorph V-notched shields, pistiliform-swords	1225-1150	1130-1050	Cabeza de Buey I Cabañas del Castillo
4	Anthropomorph importance = shield importance Pistiliform-swords continue	1150-1050	1130-1050	Zarza de Montanchez Las Herencias I
5	Anthropomorph preeminent role Fibulas de codo	1050-950	1050-970	Setefilla or Ategua

Figure 16.4: The evolution of the southwestern stelae (12th–10th centuries B.C.)

[37] It should also be noted that the use of these stelae takes place a couple of centuries prior to the Phoenician colonization (Celestino Pérez and López-Ruiz 2006).

The details of the newly added icons to the stelae provide clues and additional information regarding possible historical events and about who may have been present in 11th–10th centuries B.C. Iberia. Through time the stelae's depictions changed in quantity and quality. Besides the anthropomorphic representations, many different types of weapons also appeared. They include chariots, swords (carp's tongue), rounded shields without and with the V notch, bows, arrows, daggers, knives of different lengths, and helmets (Celestino Pérez and López-Ruiz 2006: 91). The stelae added depictions of so-called "personal objects of prestige" such as ivory combs, and fibulae on top of the mirrors that already appeared in an earlier phase. Bendala Galán (1977: 191-193) clearly distinguished between stelae with horned helmets and those without and further attributed the non-horned helmets to the Aegean:

> "In summary, the Ategua stele and all those in the series show a deep connection with the Aegean world of the Geometric Age, a reality that relies on both, formal or typological arguments, as in the set of ritual and ideological forms alluded to in the representations."

Through this process, it seems that at one point in time the warriors transitioned from slabs to stelae and from simplicity to complexity as reflected by their use of luxury personal objects for the elites.

3. Additional stelae iconography

3.1 Mirrors

Mirrors appeared at the same time as the first helmets, in what Mederos Martín (2019b) has defined as the second phase of the stelae of the Southwest. This represents an addition to the classic slab iconography: spear, shield and sword. These mirrors show round discs and different types of elaborate handles. Stelae with similar mirrors were found in places like: Cabeza del Buey V/ El Palacio; and Cabeza del Buey II/ La Yuntilla (Almagro Gorbea 1977: 497; Celestino Pérez 2001: 166; Díaz-Guardamino 2010; Pavón *et al.* 2018: 31-60). These items originated in the Eastern Mediterranean, and were also built on the islands of the Central Mediterranean, such as Sardinia (Lo Schiavo *et al.* 1985: 28-30, fig. 11).

3.2 Swords

While the warrior stones changed from horizontal slabs to vertical stelae, some of the newer stelae depicted anthropomorphs, several of which hold swords with varying kinds of handles (Celestino Pérez 1990: 18) (Figure 16.5). These stelae were also localized in different geographical zones: In the area of the Guadiana and the Guadalquivir, stelae with anthropomorph representations with no visible horned-helmet appear with a sword across their bodies, while those with the horned helmets do not show any swords (Celestino Pérez 1990: 20, fig. 13)

(Figure 16.5). This may suggest either the presence of two distinctive populations or an iconographic evolution through time.

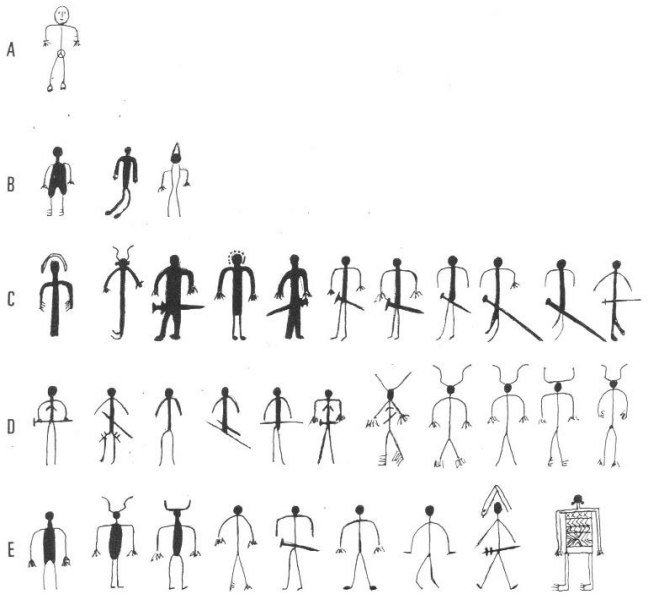


Figure 16.5: Stelae's anthropomorphic representations: A: Torrejón el Rubio III; B: Tajo; C and D: Guadiana; E: Guadalquivir (after Celestino Pérez 1990)

3.3 Chariots

The origin of the stele-depicted chariots has been very controversial. Some claimed they were similar to those represented in Greek Geometric vases (Almagro Gorbea 1977: 185; Bendala Galán 1977: 183-185; Quesada 1994). Others considered them Phoenician (Blázquez 1986: 193-194); or Mycenaean (Celestino Pérez 2001: 227-228; Harrison 2004: 148; Mederos Martín 2008a: 462). They were also associated with the arrival of Greeks to Cyprus as reflected in the Cypriot ceramics (Deger-Jalkotzy 1994: 20). Some stelae with chariots depictions were found in Solana de Cabañas, Torrejon el Rubio I, Valencia de Alcantara I and Cabeza de Buey I. More were found in the Beiras, Extremadura and Zujar valleys than the Guadalquivir.

Nossa Senhora da Guia de Baiões as well as the deposit of the Ría de Huelva each included a rein-ring that could have belonged to a chariot (Ruiz-Gálvez Priego 1993: 50-51 fig. 4: 11-13).

The two-wheeled light chariots (Harrison 2004: 147, fig. 7.16.) allowed the use of two horses, had two wheels with four radiuses and the axis in a central position under the box. The shape of the box itself (semi-circular with a curved front and rear handles) signal the characteristics of Mycenaean chariots (Mederos Martín 2017: 37 and pl. XIIIc) (Figure 16.6). According to Torres Ortiz (2008: 81) chariots represented in the warrior-stelae would be related, together with the lyres to the Cypriot ambit, which would explain their Aegean typology

(Bendala Galán 1977: 183-185; Quesada 1994). They are well represented in the Mycenaean and Cypriot ceramics of the 13th–12th century B.C. (Deger-Jalkotzy 1994: 20).

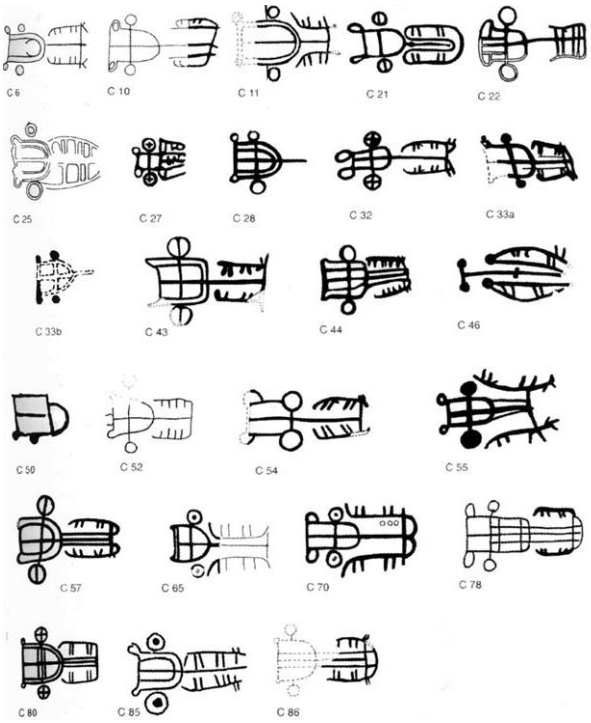


Figure 16.6: Two-wheeled light chariots – Warrior stelae (after Mederos Martín 2017)

Regarding the dating of these chariots some controversy has been identified in the literature. Mederos Martín (2017: 37) attributes them to the period LH IIIA2-IIIB, c. 1365-1185 BC, since rear handles almost completely disappeared during the LH IIIC. This determination further links the presence of Aegean objects in Cyprus before the c. 1175 B.C. battles of the Sea Peoples with the Egyptians.

Regarding the time of the depictions in the warrior stelae, Mederos Martín argues that in some stelae, such as Solana de Cabanas, Torrejon el Rubio I, Valencia de Alcantara I and Cabeza del Buey I, the chariots are associated with swords that he interpreted as being of the pistiliform type. In reference to this observation, Torres Ortiz (2012: 460) claims that these swords started to be used at the beginning of the Wilburton-St. Brieuc des Iffs phase (Late Bronze Age II), whose beginning is set today as early as the middle of the 12th century B.C. (Gómez de Soto 1991: 370, 372; Needham *et al.* 1997: 90 s.; Burgess and O'Connor 2004: 191, 193), and therefore cannot date as high as the 13th century B.C.

It is then possible, that the iconography of the first chariots could have been depicted in Iberia towards the end of the 12th century B.C. and was definitively used during the 11th century B.C. and beyond.

3.4 Other personal items

3.4.1 Lyres

The stelae depicting lyres are the newest ones (Celestino Pérez 2001: 178). Some of them were found in Cabeza del Buey 2, Capilla IV, Zarza Capilla I and III, el Viso II, Herrera del Duque, Capote. These depictions are thought to be of Oriental origin and Aegean prototypes (Bendala Galán 1977: 190; 1983; Blázquez 1983; Almagro Gorbea 1992: 649; 1998: 89-90; 2001: 245, 250-251; Deger-Jalkotzy 1994: 18 fig. 4, 20-21; Mederos Martín 1996; Celestino Pérez 2001: 178; Harrison 2004: 159; Torres Ortiz 2012: 459). According to Deger-Jalkotzy (1994: 18 fig.4, 20-21) they are dated to the Cypriot Geometric I (1050-950 B.C.). Therefore, the depictions of the lyres could likewise date to the 11th–10th centuries B.C. These assumptions may extend to justify as well the presence of *aoidoi* in the Iberian societies (Almagro Gorbea 1998: 89-90).

3.4.2 Combs

The depicted combs are characterized by a rectangular handle with a central perforation and one single row of barbs. There is a parallel between the Italian combs and those represented in the stelae (Stampolidis ed. 2003: 543, no. 1072, no. 1071; Bietti Sestieri 1997: 396 fig.10:3; Macnamara 2002: 156). Some of these were found in the stelae of Brozas, Cabeza del Buey II, Cabeza del Buey III, Esparragosa de Lares I, Chillon, Fuente de Cantos, Huelva, Cabeco de Vaiamonte Puente Tablas, Lebrija and Mola de Agres (Almagro Gorbea 1977: 194; 1996; Celestino Pérez 2001: 167ff.; Torres Ortiz 2012: 459;). The following table summarizes the comparable combs (Figure 16.7).

#	Location	Dating (century B.C.)	References
1	Ausonium II of Lipari	11th–9th	Stampolidis (ed.) 2003: 543, no 1072
2	Torre Mordillo	12th–11th	Stampolidis (ed.) 2003: 543, no 1071
3	Frattesina	12th–11th	Rittatore, Vonwiller and Gogolari 1975: tav. VII
4	Enkomi, Cyprus (tomb #6)[38]	11th	Buchholz 1984-85: 138-140, fig. 43c

Figure 16.7: Comparable combs (after Torres Ortiz 2012)

The combs depicted in the Iberian stelae were of Italian origin and were also found in Cyprus. This archaeological evidence can provide additional support to the hypothesis that maritime activity during the 11th–10th centuries B.C. included trading in the Central Mediterranean islands and Italy. On the other hand, in the Levant, four ivory combs were

[38] Found in Chamber 2 and considered of Italian origin (Bietti-Sestieri 1997: 394, 396 fig. 10:3; Macnamara 2002: 156).

recovered from various Iron Age I strata at Ekron. They include single and double-sided combs (Ben-Shlomo and Dothan 2006: 21-22, fig. 14). One of them, found in stratum VIA in Field IV NW and decorated with an Aegean motif, common on Mycenaean pottery corresponding to Iron Age I (Dothan, T. 1982a: 212), has a parallel in Enkomi Level IIA, (Dikaios 1969-71: pl. 127:42).

This evidence attests to the distribution of these items from the Levant and Cyprus to Iberia, with examples found in several Italian locations.

4. More finds in Iberia

Regarding the interpretation of headdresses as depicted in the Iberian stelae, Spanish scholars contributed the most interesting details. While discussing the stele of Cortijos de Gamarillas, Almagro Basch (1966: 7; translated from Spanish by Zorea) wrote:

> "It seems [the anthropomorph] wore a conical helmet with a crest or feathers. Although it is unclear from the erosion, the warrior clearly has an adorned crest on his helmet in the stele of Cabeza de Buey (Badajoz)."

Concerning the warrior stele of Setefilla (Figure 16.8), he added (Almagro Basch 1966: 12; translated from Spanish by Zorea):

> "It may be the image of a warrior and therefore it might be possible with some imagination to recognize in the upper lines that connect like two angles into a kind of helmet over which there is a plume or crest and in the central triangle a shield."

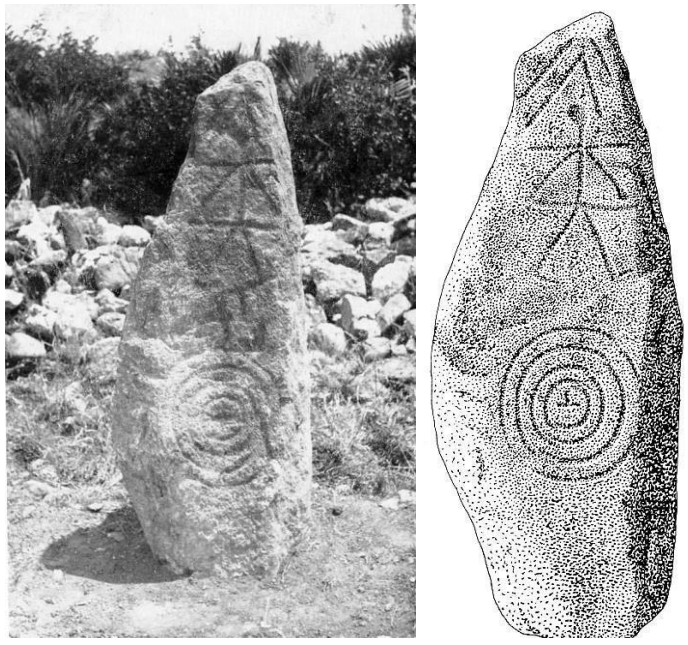


Figure 16.8: Setefilla stele, Lora del Río (Sevilla) (after Almagro Basch 1966)

Spanish scholars have used several different terms to express the details of the depicted headdress: “cimera” (Almagro Basch 1966: 7; Torres Ortiz 1999: 28); “plumas” (Almagro Basch 1966: 12); “cresta” (Almagro Basch 1966: 1 2; Torres Ortiz 1999: 26); “penacho” (Almagro Basch 1966: 12); and “tocado” (Díaz-Guardamino 2010: 147). All these descriptive words could be compatible with the description of feathered type-helmets of Aegean origin, as those used by the Tjeker during the 12th century B.C.

Regarding the origins of the helmets depicted in the Iberian stelae, scholars’ opinions vary. Almagro Basch (1966: 210-212) claimed the helmets came from Central Europe. Bendala Galán (1977: 183) affirmed that those with horns originated in the Eastern Mediterranean while those with the crest have parallels in the Greco-Etruscan world, adding that contingents of Greek origin (or Greek Cypriots possibly linked with the Sea Peoples) came to Iberia and erected the stelae (Bendala Galán 1977: 203-204). Almagro Gorbea (1977: 194) wrote that both horned and non-horned helmets were from the Atlantic. In Coffyn’s opinion (1985: 211) the crest-helmets are of Atlantic origin while the horned helmets are continental. In contrast, Blázquez (1985-86: 486-489) wrote that the horned helmets are of Sardinian origin, and that the stelae belong to Indo-Europeans. In Galán’s (1993: 20-21) opinion helmet depictions were done by people that came from Cyprus and the Syria-Palestine coast in the last quarter of the second millennium B.C.

The two basic types of helmets that appear in the Iberian warrior steles are the a) conical (with or without an add-on on the top) and b) horned. Celestino Pérez and López-Ruiz (2006: 91, fig. 3) presented the following figure claiming that the helmet changes corresponded to a process of evolution (Figure 16.9).

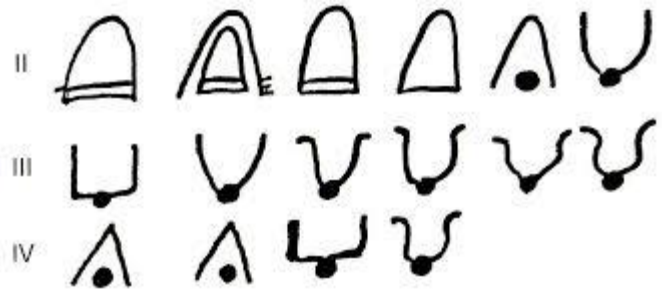


Figure 16.9: The evolution of the helmets depicted in the Iberian stelae (after Celestino Pérez and López-Ruiz 2006)

5. Theory of continuity - the basic model for Iberia

The comparison between the decorations found in the Argolid, Cyprus and Canaan (ceramics or bronze) and the depictions in the warrior stelae in Iberia reveal several significant findings: a) The work depicted in Iberia on hard stone (mostly granite) is not a common expression of the Mycenaeans (Tjeker) in the 12th or 11th centuries B.C.; b) The warrior-stelae maintained the same artistic character for several centuries; and c) The representations in the

stelae seem to be artistically more primitive than the post-palatial late Mycenaean artistic work of that time.

The theory of continuity claims that the warrior stones are a local response to a process of evolution affected by the constant presence of foreigners from mostly Cyprus, Canaan and Sardinia interested mainly in metals (tin, silver and gold). It seems that the foreign presence had a major impact on the local society.

During the 12th century B.C. there is evidence of a Tjeker presence in the North Atlantic (see Chapter 14: Tjeker in Iberia). At the end of the 12th century B.C. and in particular in the 11th century B.C., people that lived in Mycenae and other areas of the Peloponnese migrated east and maybe west as far as Iberia (see Chapter 15: Mycenaeans and Chapter 17: Sardinians). Since the Tjeker did not practice cremation of their deceased elite warriors, those coming from Mycenae may have introduced the practice to the Peninsula (Bendala Galán 1997: 92). At that time Mycenaeans used horned helmets and circular shields. Meanwhile, the Tjeker continued searching for metals including tin in Extremadura. Using their cupellation knowledge, they also extracted silver from Huelva's Rio Tinto mines (see Chapter 14: Tjeker in Iberia).

Around the 11th century B.C. some of the anthropomorphic depictions that appear in the warrior stelae represent the adoption by the locals of the way the Tjeker acted and lived. While the Tjeker presence at that time is testified by physical evidence such as the bowl of Berzocana and the use of articulated spits, the depictions that appear in the warrior stones include personal objects such as mirrors and combs produced in the central Mediterranean and Cyprus, and larger objects such as chariots and lyres, brought probably by the Tjeker from Cyprus. The importance given by the locals to objects of personal use (similar to the importance given to weaponry) emphasizes the development of a hierarchical society whose elite benefited from trade and looked constantly to improve their standard of living.

As the situation in northern Canaan became more complex (i.e. the war with the Israelites) the Tjeker continued to operate from Cyprus and the interaction with Iberia grew and intensified.

Additional archaeological finds in the Eastern Mediterranean support the fact that Iberian-made products reached the other side of the Mediterranean such as the Huelva-type fibula unearthed in Amathus, Cyprus; the Huelva-type fibula unearthed in Achziv; the articulated rotary spit in Amathus; and perhaps the most impressive find of all, the silver hoard from Río Tinto unearthed in Tell Keisan (see Chapter 8).

After 1050 B.C. the Tjeker faced attacks from the Israelites and Tyrians in Canaan and some maybe looked for refuge, first in Cyprus and later in Sardinia. At the beginning of the 10th century B.C., the Tjeker were completely defeated in Canaan, and their Mediterranean operations continued from Cyprus and possibly also from Sardinia.

Although Sardinians could have reached the Peninsula earlier, it is in the 10th–9th centuries B.C. that the Sardinians left evidence of their presence there. Sardinians, who adopted metallurgic techniques from the Tjeker, started to develop their own products and artistic statuettes. The horned helmets in the stelae could reflect the local acquisition of this fashion. The

findings of Nuragic pottery corresponding to that time represent firm evidence of Sardinian presence in the Peninsula.

It could very well be that the warrior stones (slabs and stelae) - used by the locals for more than four centuries - when looked upon as a group that evolved with time, tell the detailed story of what took place in Iberia from the perception of the local elite-population (Almagro Gorbea 1977: 189; Mederos Martín 2012: 445). The messages left in those stones go beyond the depictions engraved in them; they tell about the changes that took place in Iberia as they occurred over time.

However, no archaeological evidence has been identified that indicates the settlement in Iberia of any foreign group during this period. The archaeological evidence (or lack of evidence) makes me believe that while the foreigners came and left, the locals absorbed some of their manners and technologies (first from the Tjeker, then from the Sardinians) to build a hierarchical society. With time this local society absorbed those Tjeker and Sardinians that may have stayed in Iberia and their amalgamation became the fabric of a society in southwestern Iberia that some scholars name Tartessos.

The Cross translation of the Nora Stone (see Chapter 17: Sardinians) indicate that 9th century B.C. conflicts started to develop in Tarshish (Tartessos) between Sardinians and the Phoenicians, events that preceded the massive late-9th century B.C. Phoenician colonization.

By depicting weapons in their warrior stones, local populations provided evidence of the fundamental role weapons played in Iberia during this whole period, including their willingness to fight and defend their interests. The locals showed that they had the ability to:

a) Trade with whoever had something of value to offer.

b) Develop a hierarchical society whose elite enjoyed the benefits of new bronze products

c) Find the way to absorb the new technologies brought by the foreigners to Iberia.

d) Build their offensive and defensive capabilities.

f) Absorb the foreigners that stayed in Iberia, building a society that was well structured prior the Phoenician colonization.

Chapter 17: Sardinians in Iberia

The so-called 'Cypriots in Iberia' relate to the presence of the Tjeker in Iberia. As it has been observed previously, many of the bronzes documented in the Iberian Peninsula are of clear Cypriot roots, and some bronzes found in Cyprus are of Iberian origin, suggesting the definitive existence of this Cypriot phase (Sherratt and Sherratt 1991: 374-375; Torres Ortiz 2008: 82). Were the Tjeker the only ethnic group operating in Iberia in the 11th and 10th centuries B.C.?

Since the end of the 12th century B.C., trade between the Tjeker and the Sardinians elites flourished. As Ridgway (1989: 131) described it, it was an interaction between equals. It was also suggested that members of the Cypriot élite were in touch with high-status individuals in Sardinia (Crielaard 1998: 193). Crielaard (1998: 198) also claimed that during the second half of the 11th century B.C. and the 10th century B.C. new elites emerged in Cyprus.

1. Cypriote (Tjeker) objects in Sardinia

Besides Cyprus, a new class of elites also emerged in other Mediterranean islands, such as Sardinia. They were properly organized, dominated the long-distance communications and continued to be active in the metals-trade. The leadership of the Cypriote elite (Tjeker) in metal-work, routes and trade was clear and the Sardinians started to emulate their bronze-work. Sardinian imports from Cyprus in the 11th and 10th century B.C. were identified and summarized by scholars such as Lo Schiavo *et al.* (1985: 62-3); Vagnetti and Lo Schiavo (1989: 217-27); Matthäus (1989: 248-9) and Karageorghis (1995b: 93-7).

Crielaard (1998: 192) suggests the dating of some pieces as follows: a) A hemispherical bronze bowl with lotus-flowers handles (that parallels two large bowls from the rich tomb 58 in Skales, Cyprus) found in a hoard at Santa Anastasia of Sardara (Ugas and Lai (eds.) 1986, pl. 7:1) dated by Matthäus (1985: 124-7; 1989: 246-8) to the Geometric Cypriot I-II (1050-900 B.C.); b) The miniature tripod-stand support preserved in Oristano, with a parallel found in Kaloriziki T. 39 in Cyprus, dated to the Geometrical I B (1050-950 B.C.) (Lo Schiavo *et al.* 1985: 36-40); c) The fragments of two tripods in S'Arcu'e Is Forros Villagrande were found in a megaron temple of a nuragic settlement in the mountains of Ogliastra. They have been dated from the 12th–9th centuries B.C. (Vagnetti and Lo Schiavo 1989: 227-31, 233-7; Ausilia Fadda 1991b: 108-11); d) The tripod fragments found in Orani-Nurdole, a nuragic temple in use since the 11th century B.C. (Fadda 1991a: 107); and e) A small fragment possibly of a tripod-stand found in the Samugheo bronze hoard (Lo Schiavo *et al.* 1985: 42) dated to the 13th–10th centuries B.C. For additional examples about Sardinian objects see Russell and Knapp (2017: 8, Table 2).

Although the frequency and number of Tjeker vessels sailing from the Atlantic to the Eastern Mediterranean and back cannot be determined, it is definitely clear that they made stops in Sardinia while sailing in both directions east and west. The articulated spit found in Mount Sa Idda could be proof of a Tjeker stop in Sardinia while the one found in Amathus, Cyprus, provides an indication that Cyprus was a Tjeker base and that Peninsular objects made it there. On the way back to Iberia Tjeker brought with them oxhide copper ingots that were used to pay

for something Sardinians had and Cypriots did not. It is possible that the exchange was based on getting 'iron' that Sardinia had and Cyprus needed (Vagnetti and Lo Schiavo 1989: 227, 232*;* Lo Schiavo *et al.* 1990: 209-13; Ridgway and Serra Ridgway 1992: 359 ; Ridgway 1995: 79).

2. Sardinian statuettes (bronzetti)

The so-called *bronzetti* (in Sardinian: *brunzittos* or *brunzittus*) are small bronze statuettes (Lilliu 1966; Araque Gonzalez 2014: 151) (Figure 17.1) produced by using the lost-wax casting technique (Lilliu 1962). They are among the most important archaeological evidence of the island. They generally measure up to about 15 inches and represent scenes of everyday life, characters from different social classes, warriors, animal figures, divinities, ships, etc.

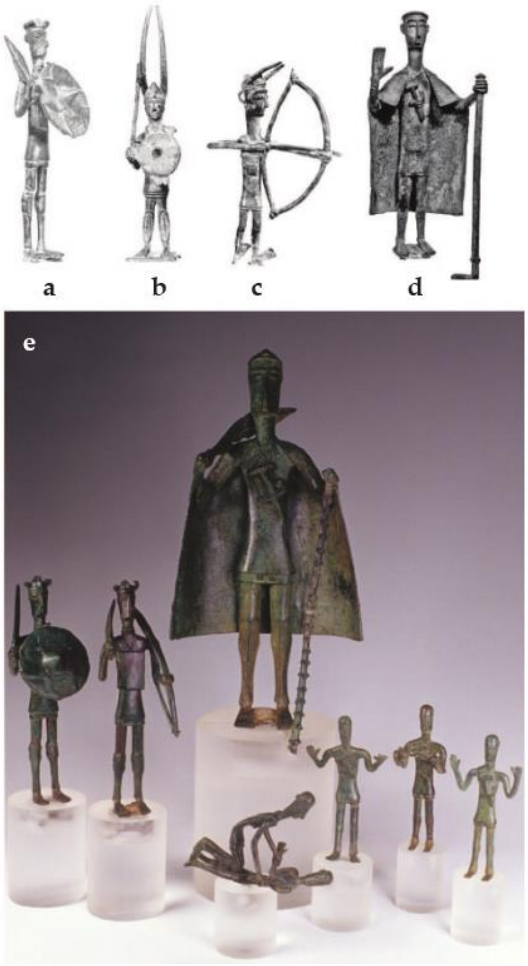


Figure 17.1: Uta-Abini style *bronzetti* from (a) Uta (Lilliu 1966, no. 12); (b) Senorbi (Lilliu 1966, no. 96); (c) Abini Teti (Lilliu 1966, no. 18); (d) Santa Vitoria-Serri (Lilliu 1966, no. 4); (e) Examples from Monte Arcosu-Uta (after Araque Gonzalez 2014)

However, their meaning and chronology are not fully understood and continue to be a matter of debate (Araque Gonzalez 2012: 84). The chronological evidence from Sardinia supported firmly by the find of Uta-Abini *bronzetti* fragments in LBA strata at Funtana Coperta-Ballao (Manunza 2008), and the datable objects depicted, suggests a LBA date or the 12th/11th century B.C. for the start of production.

Uta-Abini type figurines were produced by a rather moderate number of workshops, and were displayed for long periods at sanctuaries. The earlier Uta-Abini style has a repetitive iconography which fits into the overall imagery of the LBA Mediterranean of horned warriors and (vessel bearing) females, but it is distinguished by high quality, quantity and many unique characters of Sardinian sculpture. Uta-Abini *bronzetti* communicate religious-information, reaffirming local identity with typical Sardinian design and motifs (Araque Gonzalez 2012: 106). Their bronze designs unearthed in Sardinia, closely correlate with the statuettes discovered in Cyprus, like the "horned god" and the "ingot god" (see Chapter 15: Mycenaeans, Figure 15.15-15.16) that are dated to the 12th century B.C. (Schaeffer 1965: 56-57). According to Voskos and Knapp (2008: 671, cf Dikaois 1969-71: 527-530), "Dikaios argued the horned god was Mycenaean in origin, brought to Cyprus or produced there locally by Mycenaean immigrants."

Besides, hundreds of statuettes dated to the 10th and 9th century B.C. had been discovered in various sites of Sardinia although their discovery seems to indicate that the Sardinians could have been also living and trading in central Italy (Vulci, Vetulonia, Populonia, and Magione) and further south in the Greek colony of Crotone where similar statuettes were discovered in several tombs.

These *bronzetti* are the most distinguishing ritual objects in Sardinia (Araque Gonzalez 2012). Some of the iconography of Iberia and Sardinia has certain similarities. Similarly, the warrior stelae depict a round shield, a sword and even a bow. Nevertheless, there are also some differences. While spears and chariots are depicted in the stelae they are not present in Sardinia.

The bull can be said to be the most important animal in Sardinian and Mediterranean iconography. In the East, it is connected to the storm god. In Iberia, the bull's image appears first in conjunction with the horned warriors of the LBA/ EIA stelae. Although the iconography reflected in the *bronzetti* already existed in Sardinia, it is the presence of the Cypriot Tjeker in Sardinia an additional factor in the fast development of Nuragic metalworking that extends in the Final Bronze Age (1150-950/900 B.C.) since new casting techniques became available (Araque Gonzalez 2012: 105). Suddenly Sardinia represented a potential opportunity for those eastern craftsmen that moved out from Canaan as a result of the war with the Israelites that culminated with the Tjeker defeat in 980 B.C.

Araque Gonzalez (2012: 106) claims that the figurines do not represent individuals, but divine entities and mythical concepts. These *bronzetti* seemed to have been exposed in public spaces where they were a component of the communities' material wealth. Elements like the horned warrior, connections to water, fertility and female company are expressed in these statuettes.

3. Nuragic pottery - 9th century B.C.

Nuragic ceramics were identified in several Iberian locations such as: El Carambolo, Cadiz, La Rebanadilla, Huelva and Peña Negra

3.1 El Carambolo

While reviewing the excavations in El Carambolo by Carriazo (1973), Torres Ortiz (2004) identified a fragment that belonged to a nuragic askoid-jar (Figure 17.2). The fragment containing a couple of concentric circles is clearly reminiscent of Sardinian production. Perhaps this sherd belongs to the handle of an askoid vase, the most abundant Nuragic ceramic found outside Sardinia. Similar sherds were identified in Crete, Carthage, Lipari, Pantalica and Sicily. Torres Ortiz (2004: 46) dated the Carambolo sherd to the 9th century B.C. (Iberian pre-Colonization Late Bronze Age).

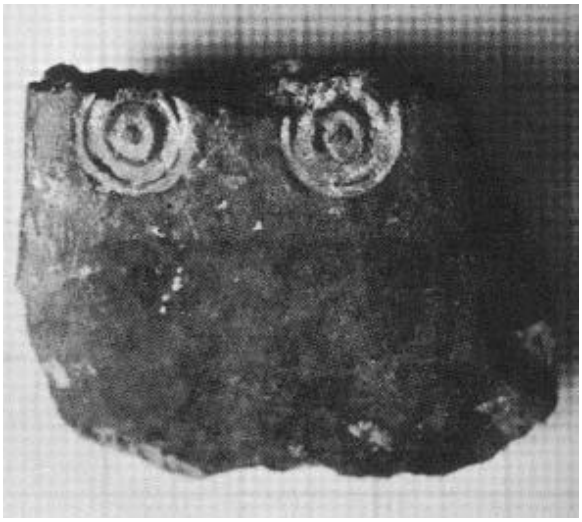


Figure 17.2: El Carambolo - nuragic fragment (after Carrazo 1973; Torres Ortiz 2004)

Fernández Flores and Rodríguez Azogue (2007) reported on follow-up excavations in El Carambolo and revealed a new Nuragic fragment (*ibid.*, 204, fig. 84, lám.9) (Figure 17.3) found in a similar context to the one previously reported by Torres Ortiz.

Figure 17.3: El Carambolo - Fragment of an askoid jug (after Fernández Flores and Rodríguez Azogue 2007)

3.2 Cadiz

Another two sherd of askoid jugs were unearthed in Cadiz in an archaeological context corresponding to the first half of the 8th century B.C. One of them was found in the excavation carried out in Cánovas del Castillo St. (Córdoba Alonso and Ruiz Mata 2005: 1300-1304, fig. 20), while the other one was unearthed in the excavation carried out in the so-called Teatro Cómico (Torres Ortiz *et al.* 2014: 63, fig. 11).

Both askoid jugs were found in Phoenician contexts.

3.3 La Rebanadilla

La Rebanadilla is located west of Málaga. It was a colonial settlement located on an islet in the Guadalhorce's estuary, 1.9 km north of Cerro del Villar. Findings included Greek ceramics and other Sardinian containers for liquids, like askoid-jugs and pyramid-shaped pseudo-amphoric Pir 1 containers (Campus and Leonelli 2000: 442). Given that the Greek ceramics were precisely dated to the Middle Geometric II, Sánchez-Moreno *et al.* (2012: 83) dated the adjacent Sardinian ceramics to the last quarter of the 9th century B.C. They added:

> "... although we do not rule out the presence of other ethnic groups, such as Sardinians, since a large amount of materials from Sardinia are documented, related to the kitchen, unfit for a trade of prestigious elements, and may have been transported as domestic furnishings of these populations that would travel with them."

Sherds from an askoid jug handle and body from Phase IV of the site are shown in Figure 17.4.

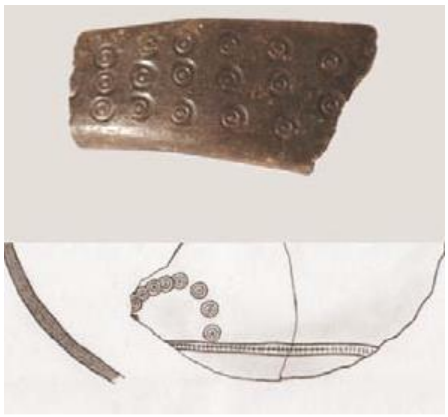
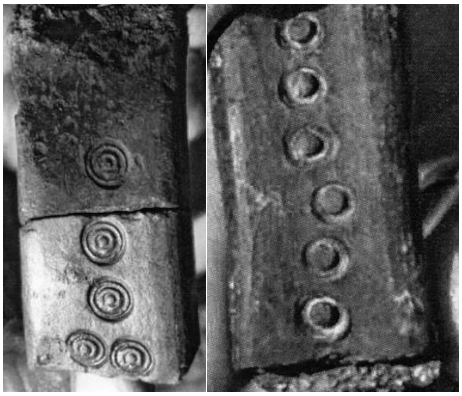


Figure 17.4: La Rebanadilla - Handle and body of an askoid jug (after Sánchez-Moreno *et al.* 2012)

3.4 Huelva

The importance of Huelva as a place where Sardinians were present in the 10th–9th centuries B.C. is confirmed by the discovery of Nuragic pottery in a site located north of the historic center of the city. The date of the Nuragic materials seems to be confirmed by at least one of the two fragments found. Figure 17.5a presents a simple decoration reminiscent of both the nuragic ceramics found in the strata dell'Ausonio II in the Lipari Castle (10th–9th centuries B.C.) as well as the Final Bronze Age askoid-jug found in the Nuraghe Nolza di Meana Sardo (Nu) (Cossu and Perra 2002: 520-522, fig. 5.13).



(a) (b)

Figure 17.5: Handles of askoid jugs - Huelva (after Fundoni 2009)

The second handle fragment (Figure 17.5b) has a parallel in a sample of Vetulonia (Figure 17.6) from the second half of the 9th century B.C. or later (Delpino 2002: 366, tav. II a-b).

Figure 17.6: Askoide jug, Tomb 85, Poggio alla Guardia necrópolis - Vetulonia (after Delpino 2002)

A detailed review of Sardinian ceramics unearthed in Huelva has been presented by Botto (2015: 175, fig. 3, cf González de Canales *et al.* 2004). A sample of these findings is shown in Figure 17.7.

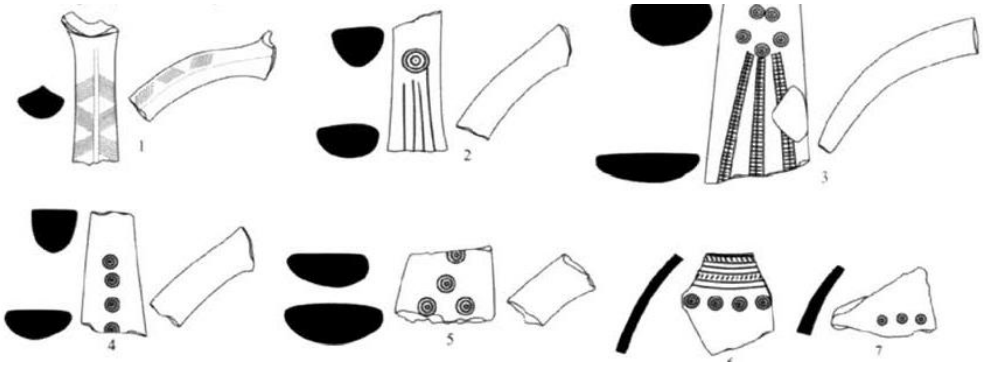


Figure 17.7: Huelva - Handles, bodies and bases of Nuragic askoid jars found in the construction site of Plaza de las Monjas, 12 / calle Méndez Núñez, 7-13 (after González de Canales *et al.* 2004)

The fragments described above represent firm evidence of pre-colonial contacts between Sardinia and the Iberian Peninsula.

3.5 Peña Negra

The Nuragic pottery identified in Peña Negra by Vinader Antón (2019) correspond to the 9th century B.C. It was found in an area which provided evidence of the existence of a metallurgical workshop as attested by the finding of a good amount of clay moulds for casting swords, spears and other objects of Atlantic tipology. The sherd retrieved probably belongs to a boat-shaped nuragic lamp.

4. Interconnections

Iberia and Sardinia were in close contact during the LBA and EIA, exchanging metal objects and techniques (Lo Schiavo 1991: 213-19; 2005a: 344-351). Between the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of Iron Age I, there have been two connection-routes between Sardinia and the Iberian Peninsula (Botto 2013).

The first route included Corsica and the Tyrrhenian coast of central-northern Italy and southern France to the mouth of the Rhone. From there two alternatives were used to reach western Andalusia and Portugal: 1) a land route through the Pyrenees and 2) a maritime route along the coast. The other, was a sea route that most likely included a stop in the Balearic Islands before reaching the coast of the Iberian southeast and from there through the Strait of Gibraltar they reached Atlantic Andalusia (Figure 17.8).

Figure 17.8: Routes between Sardinia and the Iberian Peninsula (after Botto 2013)

The technique of the "lost wax" was known in Sardinia since the 11th century B.C. through a technology transfer by Cypriots (Lo Schiavo 1991: 219-220; Giardino 2007: 10-11). These Cypriots could most probably be the Tjeker. The technology exchange between Iberia and Sardinia is clearly seen in the Mount Sa Idda-type sword that, although created on the island, was a result of Iberian influences.

4.1 From Iberia to Sardinia

Regarding the objects from the Iberian Peninsula arriving in Sardinia, certain types of bronzes should be pointed out, such as flat axes of lateral appendages which are well-documented in the Iberian southeast (i.e. Compotéjar) and in the Balearic Islands, from where they will spread towards the deposit of Flumenelongu in northwestern Sardinia. From here the object will reach the Mount Sa Idda deposit in the south of the island, and the Monte Rovello deposit in northern Lazio (Botto 2013: 198).

Ría de Huelva type swords are documented in Siniscola (northeastern Sardinia), and in Santa Marinella (north of Rome) (Figure 17.8) (Lo Schiavo 1976; 1991: 263; 2005b: 348-349; 2008: 431; Giardino 1995: 200-205; Botto 2011: 33-36). Examples of peninsular objects found in Sardinia are shown in Figure 17.9.

#	*Object*	*Location*	*Reference* (Lo Schiavo and D'Oriano)
1	Pistiliform sword (1200-1050 B.C.)	Siniscola	1990: 108-109, fig. 2:1
2	Ría-Huelva sword (c. 1050-950 B.C.)	Siniscola	1990: 108-109, fig. 2:2
3	Dagger (Porto de Mos de Santadi type)	Grotta Pirosu	1990: 108-109, fig. 2:6
4	Spearheads	Mount Sa Idda	1990: 108-109, fig. 2:7
5	Spearheads	Grotta Pirosu	1990: 108-109, fig. 2:8-2.9
6	Bronze axes with lateral appendices	Mount Sa Idda, Flumenelongu, Tula and Teti	1990: 110-112, fig. 3:1-5
7	Plain axes and 'palstaves' with one or two rings	Mount Sa Idda, Mount Arrubiu, Flumenelongu and Funtana Janna	1990: 110-112, fig. 3:6-12; Ruiz-Gálvez 1986: 15
8	Sickles	Mount Sa Idda and Abini	1990: 113-114, fig. 4 Ruiz-Gálvez 1986: 15-16
9	Articulated spit (Atlantic type)	Mount Sa Idda	1990: 128-130 fig.12:1 Ruiz-Gálvez 1986: 14

Figure 17.9: Examples of Peninsular objects found in Sardinia

4.2 From Sardinia to Iberia

Communications also existed between Sardinia, various parts of the Iberian Peninsula (e.g. Huelva, northwest Iberia) and the northern Atlantic (Lo Schiavo 1990: 183 Discussion; Karageorghis and Lo Schiavo 1989: 20, 23; Ridgway 1989: 135; Judice Gamito 1989: 137-8; Ruiz-Gálvez 1991: 286-9; Aubet 1993: 182-3; Albanese Procelli 1995: 39-40; Gómez Toscano and Fundoni 2010-2011; Botto 2015).

One of the most interesting findings related with objects that were brought from Sardinia to Iberia are metal objects found in the Ria Huelva hoard dated around 1000-950 B.C. (Ruiz-Gálvez Priego 1995; Brandherm 2007: 74-86; Armada Pita *et al.* 2008: 493-494). Initially it was believed that the bronzes were made with local materials, but in fact, the samples tested revealed they were made with metals from different sources, including Sardinia (Botto 2013: 200).

Findings of Sardinian objects in the Peninsular southwest are included in Figure 17.10[39]:

[39] Minerals from Sardinia and Iberia may have the same isotopic signature, which poses challenges in determining these objects' provenance.

#	Object	Location	Reference
1	Swords and daggers	Vicinity of the rivers: Guadalete (Cadiz), Alcalá del Rio (Sevilla), Peñon de la Reina de Alboloduy (Almeria), Castulo (Jaen) (built in iron)	Ruiz-Gálvez 1986: 19-20; Lo Schiavo and D'Oriano 1990: fig 8: 1-3, 5-6
2	Axes with an appendix and a ring	Villacarrillo in Jaen	Lo Schiavo and D'Oriano 1990: 121-122, fig 8:8
3	Some metal artifacts (1000-950 B.C.)	Ría de Huelva	Brandherm 2007: 74-86; Armada Pita *et al.* 2008: 493-94 Montero Ruiz *et al.* 2007: 207
4	Pottery and bronze artefacts confirm traffic for the end of the LBA and the EIA	Huelva, El Carambolo, La Rebanadilla	Bernardini 2010: 70 Botto 2015
5	"Lost wax" technique, developed by the Cypriots and absorbed by Sardinia	Multiple locations	Lo Schiavo 1991: 219-220

Figure 17.10: Examples of Sardinian objects in the Peninsular southwest

5. Nora Stone – 'srdn', the name of the island

The Nora Fragment, or Nora Stone, is an ancient inscription found in 1773 in Nora, south of Cagliari on the south coast of Sardinia. Based on paleographic studies, it has been dated to the late 9th century B.C. and is still considered the oldest Phoenician inscription yet found in Sardinia (Lilliu 2005) (Figure 17.11). This inscription is important because it testifies to the name of the island on a very ancient date.

Figure 17.11: The Nora Stone (after Lilliu 2005; credit: Giovanni Dall'Orto)

It has not been confirmed that the stele is intact, but may be complete except at the top where Cross (1972: 13-19) believes one or two lines have been cut-off. The text is related to a military event in which Milkuton son of Subon and his army, played an important part. There are various interpretations and disputes regarding the content of this stone (Lane Fox 2008). Some of these are presented below.

5.1 Peckham

The Peckham's translation of this inscription (Peckham 1972: 457-468) proposes the safe arrival in Sardinia of a commander and his army after they were expelled from Tarshish. He translates:

"From Tarshish
he was driven;
in Sardinia
he found refuge;
his forces found refuge,
Milkuton son of
Subon, the commander;
to [the god] Pmy".

Shea (1991: 241-245) supports Peckham's approach.

5.2 Cross

On the other hand, Cross (1972: 16) reads:

[a. He fought (?)]
[b. with the Sardinians (?)]
1. at Tarshish
2. and he drove them out.
3. Among the Sardinians
4. he is [now] at peace,
5. (and) his army is at peace:
6. Milkaton son of
7. Shubna (Shebna), general
8. of (king) Pummay.

Cross fundamentally differs from Peckham's interpretation. His association of the inscription "Pmy" with Pygmalion (King of Tyre) has been accepted; as well as the dating derived from this analysis (9th century B.C.).

5.3 Puech

Puech (2020) studied the Phoenician stela, the Phoenician fragment of Nora (CIS I, 144), and the Phoenician fragment of Bosa in Sardinia and in his view these three Phoenician inscriptions are irrefutable testimony of exchanges between the capital Tyre, Sardinia and Tarsis, at least since the 9th century B.C., and they prove the identification of Tarsis with Tartessos in the Huelva area in Spain (Puech 2020).

Puech transformed the Phoenician characters into Hebrew characters, then translated those verses into French, and those can be translated to English as follows (Figure 17.12):

Hebrew	***French***	***English***
לסכר(?)] נג מבא] מלכת ד] להלתחם] 1 בתרשש 2 הא וגרש 3 ש בשרדן 4 של הא לם 5 מ צבא ם 6 בן לכתן 7 נגד בן ש 8 לפמי	a [En souvenir b de l'expédition du comman c dant du royaume d allé (e) combattre] 1 à Tarsis 2 mais il/elle fut refoulé(e). 3 En Sardaigne il 4 fut sauf, sauve 5 l'armée de notre roy- 6 aume. Le monument 7 qu'a édifié le commandant 8 à Pumaï.	a [In memory b of the Comman c der of the Kingdom's expedition d gone (e) to fight] 1 in Tarsis 2 but he / she was repressed (e). 3 In Sardinia he 4 was safe, save 5 the army of our king- 6 dom. The monument 7 Which has built the commander 8 to Pumaï.

Figure 17.12: Nora Stone interpretations in Hebrew, French and English (after Puech 2020)

Such versions confirm several important facts: a) In the 9th century B.C. Sardinia was named *Srdn* (*bsrdn* means "in Shrdn" or "in Sardinia"); b) There was conflict between the Tyrians and the Sherden; c) It is possible that the Sherden were defeated by the Tyrians in Tarshish (*trss*); d) A place called Tarsis or Tarshish existed.

The Nora Stone hints about a certain relation between the island of Sardinia and the Sherden (see Chapter 4).

6. Period of Pre-Colonization

The period of pre-colonization can be defined as the period that extends from the 14th century B.C. until the massive Tyrian appearance in Iberia at the beginning of the 8th century B.C. During this period, foreigners visit the Peninsula driven by the need of trading metals (tin, silver, gold etc.). Although many questions related to this six-hundred-year period can be satisfactorily addressed, several others will remain unanswered until the time that additional archaeological findings shed light to solve the many pending puzzles.

During the present work (Chapters 14: Tjeker in Iberia, Chapter 15: Mycenaeans and this Chapter 17: Sardinians), I have studied the whereabouts and the possible activity deployed by

these three foreign groups in Iberia, while Chapter 16 (Warrior Stones) provides a view for the possible role played by the local population.

In the case of the Mycenaeans, there are several elements that could possibly link them to Iberia. Some are archaeological in nature while others relate to a cultural association based on both, the archaeological findings in Iberia and the adopted culture in Mycenae in the post palatial era around the early 12th century B.C.

Among the archaeological findings in the Peninsula that could be used to establish this relationship are the ceramic sherds unearthed in Montoro, some evidence of cremation and numerous warrior stelae pieces. The ceramic analysis performed on the sherds found in Llanete de los Moros indicate a foreign presence that could have taken place in two distinctive periods: 1450-1050 B.C. and 1260-930 B.C. (see Chapter 15: Mycenaeans). It was scientifically proven that the origin of these ceramic sherds was the Mycenae-Berbati area in the Argolid.

Regarding the components embedded in the culture of 12th century B.C. Mycenae, that could be associated with the findings in Iberia, it can be mention a) The use of stelae, b) the adoption of cremation for their 'heroes' as a new burial custom and c) the use of round shields and d) the use of horned helmets similar to the depictions observed in many of the Iberian warrior steles.

Are these archaeological findings in Iberia and Mycenae enough to convincingly establish a Mycenaean presence in Iberia? It is hard to say. It could be claimed that the sherds found in Montoro were brought to Iberia by a third party involved in trade, and since the stratigraphy of Llanete de los Moros has never been fully published, it is not easy to establish if these findings relate to a sporadic event or could indicate the presence of a small contingent.

Since round shields and horned helmets were also used by Sardinians, it is difficult to accept these two elements as qualifiers. Dating those warrior stelae that include horned helmets and circular shields - in a defined geographical context - plus the analysis of the different shapes of the horns depicted in the stelae, could shed some light on this topic. While cremation could be a qualifier, since it seems that it was a Mycenaean custom in the 12th century B.C. used only for their heroes, the few cases found in Iberia are still a subject of controversy.

The evidence about the Tjeker in Iberia during the period 12th–11th century B.C. seems more convincing. Sailing from Cyprus and Canaan to Iberia (and probably Britany and the British Islands), Tjeker sailors left behind plenty of clues as already discussed in Chapter 14 (Tjeker in Iberia).

The third group that acted in Iberian soil during the Pre-colonization period is the Sardinians. Ceramic evidence in El Carambolo, Cadiz, Huelva, La Rebanadilla and Peña Negra provide clear evidence that links the Sardinians and Iberia in the 9th-8th centuries B.C. Sardinians did not use cremation as a burial custom but they used circular shields and horned helmets. The use of this defensive equipment is known as being used by the Sherden since the 14th century B.C. the time in which they operated as Egyptian mercenaries.

Since there is no definitive archaeological evidence related to Sardinian presence in Iberia in periods prior to the 9th century B.C. (maybe the end of the 10th century B.C.), there is

still a gap between the 12th–11th centuries B.C. and the end of the 10th century B.C. regarding who were those represented in the warrior stelae depicting circular shields and horned helmets.

To add to these confusing matters the element of the local population must be taken into consideration. This means that at some time in the 12th–11th centuries B.C. a segment of the local population adopted the use of this defensive equipment inspired probably by the presence of those foreigners that brought the Mycenaean pottery to Iberia during the 12th–11th century B.C. It is difficult to indicate if those were Mycenaean or Sardinians involved in trading networks.

Another element to consider is the change from slabs to vertical stelae (probably around the beginning of the 11th century B.C.) and the gradual appearance of depictions of horned helmets as well as objects of foreign origin. It clearly indicates a major change since the slabs never included the use of horned helmets. It may also be possible that a local segment of the population adopted horned helmets in the past and did not use slabs before, got inspired by the group that used conical helmets and adopted the stelae approach to honor their own heroes (see Chapter 16: Warrior stones).

Although it can be accepted that the depictions in the stelae evolved with time it is to consider that the local population was not homogeneous and the different type of helmets (conical or horned) could have represented different local tribes.

In summary, the number of possible solutions regarding the identification about who brought the Mycenaean pottery in the 12th–11th century B.C. to Llanete de los Moros is limited, but selecting the one scenario that would represent with absolute certainty what took place in Iberia during the 12th–10th century B.C. is still challenging.

Chapter 18: Innovation, technology and additional findings in Iberia

Previous chapters established the connectivity between East (Cyprus and Canaan) and West (Iberian Peninsula). This chapter deals with the new technologies that emerged in Iberia and their impact on the standard of living of the elites between the late-12th to mid-10th centuries B.C. prior the Phoenician colonization of Iberia.

1. Technology and innovation

Some scholars agree on the eastern migrations of some Aegean ethnic groups to Cyprus and Canaan (see Chapter 2: Philistines, Chapter 3: Denyen, Chapter 6: Tjeker). After the beginning of the 12th century B.C., Orientals arrived in Iberia as the Peninsula became part of the Mediterranean trade-networks. Eleventh century B.C. objects manufactured in Iberia appeared in Cyprus and Canaan reaffirming the maritime relationship between the West and East (see Chapter 6: Tjeker).

The southern region of Iberia was known to 10th century B.C. Israelites and Tyrians as Tarshish and to 7th century B.C. Greeks as Tartessos. Numerous scholars have all agreed that the Phoenicians (i.e. the Tyrians) first appeared in the Iberian Peninsula no earlier than the 9th century B.C. or at the very end of the 10th century B.C. (Ruiz-Gálvez Priego 1995: 137; Torres Ortiz 2005; González de Canales *et al.* 2008: 631-655; Gómez Toscano and Fundoni 2010-2011: 17-56; Celestino Peréz and López-Ruiz 2016: 303). What happened between the appearance of the first Orientals (Tjeker) in Iberia at the beginning of the 12th century B.C. and the Phoenicians' colonization, hundreds of years later? Ruiz-Gálvez Priego (1995: 136, 141; translated from Spanish by Zorea) wrote:

> "What happens between the transition of the second and first millennium B.C. that the river-mouths of the Guadalquivir and Tinto/Odiel become so important? … What happened towards the last third of the second millennium B.C. that the Peninsula awakened such interest from foreigners? … What happened that strategic points permitting easy and fast access towards a territory gained political importance?"

Were the first newcomers fortune-seeking sailors, who sustained and pioneered Mediterranean trading activity (Vagnetti 1985: 127-144; Bunnens 1986: 257-276; Knapp 1992: 52-72, 112-28) or were they a pioneer force looking for tin?

In any case, their presence had a major impact on the social, economic, military and cultural aspects of the Iberian Peninsula as has been proposed by scholars such as Almagro Gorbea (1989; 1992; 1998; 2000; 2001). There is growing evidence that towards the end of the second millennium B.C., Oriental people and objects arrived in the Peninsula as did new technologies. Based on archaeological findings in Iberia, Sardinia, Cyprus and Canaan, it can be established that in the 11th century B.C. foreigners brought innovation to Iberia that resulted in significant change.

1.1 Why were foreigners attracted to certain Iberian regions?

The Bronze Age was the first period in which societies became codependent on ores and metallurgical skills. The Orientals (Tjeker) knew how to develop and manufacture weaponry as well as vessels for daily use. They used a lot of bronze but were limited by the scarcity of tin, a critical element to produce bronze.

Therefore, they accessed these critical resources via long-distance trade routes, river networks, as well as by creating interpersonal and diplomatic networks (Kristiansen and Suchowska-Ducke 2015: 361). Some ventured to distant parts of the Mediterranean, even as far as Iberia (Rodriguez and Enriquez 2001: 101-107) and brought with them advanced technologies and skills for wheel-made pottery and sophisticated metallurgy.

For centuries, tin was the magnet that attracted the Tjeker to Iberia. Tin sources were located throughout the Atlantic Iberian façade, including the northwest (Bettencourt 1999; Sampaio and Bettencourt 2011), the Portuguese Beira Alta (Senna-Martinez *et al.* 2011a), Beira Interior (Vilaça 1997), Galicia (Comendador *et al.* 2014) and northern Extremadura – San Cristobal de Logrosán – (Merideth 1998; Rodríguez Díaz *et al.* 2001) as well as the alluvial deposits around the Tagus River (Senna-Martinez 2013: 16).

This suggests that Iberian tin was accessible by sea or by land. Two of the major access routes from the Atlantic were the Tagus and Mondego rivers, large seaways used to complement two main road routes (Torres Ortiz 2012: 467-468): the western Beira Interior–Northeast Alentejo and the eastern Salamanca-Caceres corridor (Senna-Martinez 2013: 17).

Since the bowl of Berzocana (see Appendix) was found in a central location, it may have come through the Atlantic coast and the Tagus River, through fords of the Guadiana such as Orellana la Vieja and Medellin, or even through the Guadalquivir and subsequent roads that crossed Sierra Morena (Enríquez Navascués 1989-90; Torres Ortiz 2012: 467). These searches for tin probably extended to Brittany and the British Islands where it existed in high concentrations (see Chapter 14: Tjeker in Iberia).

There is firm evidence of foreign presence in Iberia during the 12th–9th century B.C. period, well before the appearance of the Phoenicians, in sites like: Baiões (west), Villena (east), Peña Negra (east), and Ría de Huelva (south) (Ruiz-Gálvez Priego 1995: 147). The economic development and the demographic increase during the early 10th century B.C. occurred in the Iberian-Levante and the Portuguese-castros.

Portugal's tin mines and the maritime access to those mines in Brittany and Britain likely sparked Iberia's transformation. The many findings in Extremadura and other Portuguese regions represent ties between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean since the end of the Late Bronze Age (Ruiz-Gálvez 1986; Ruiz-Gálvez Priego 1993; 1998; Lo Schiavo 1991; Vilaça 2012; Cardoso and Vilaça 2017). Archaeological finds revealed locally manufactured objects, like articulated spits found in Orellana la Vieja (Badajoz), Serra de Alvaiazere, Cachouca, Portugal (Mederos Martín 1996: 101-104) 20 miles north of Lisbon, as well as in Nossa Senhora da Guia, Baiões where several bronze pieces of Oriental origin were also found (see Chapter 14). Those sailing

from the Atlantic through the northern Duero River reached the region of Salamanca, where an articulated spit was found around Cerro del Berrueco (Mederos Martín 1996: 101-104), some 150 miles north of Berzocana, Cáceres.

The Iberian Levante, or the Eastern coast of the peninsula, may have been preferred by some Oriental explorers because it was easy to dock and because it led to familiar routes. It also may have been because it was politically and economically developed enough to attract business and trade from the outside. Consequently, the population grew and trade increased to meet demand (Ruiz-Gálvez Priego 1995: 143). Although the Iberian Levante had a well-developed agrarian economy it also provided access to two important metal regions: the southeast and the Guadalquivir (Ruiz-Gálvez Priego 1995: 144).

1.2 New technologies

During the 11th–10th centuries B.C., the Tjeker probably introduced new technologies to Iberia which created new economic conditions. This was facilitated by controlling all the phases of metal exploitation and distribution, and advanced technological knowledge. Many of the new technologies introduced to the Peninsula required artisans to be trained as long-term apprentices. Therefore, eastern Mediterranean craftsmen may have likely settled in the Peninsula, either permanently or for long periods of time, and certainly before the appearance of the Phoenicians (Ruiz-Gálvez Priego 2014a: 196–214).

The introduction of several metal-technologies and techniques elevated the Peninsula's quality and quantity of metal goods produced, to a comparable level of sophistication with other Mediterranean regions such as Cyprus, Canaan or Sardinia. One of these metal technologies was the 'lost wax' casting technique. This technique requires the creation of a wax mold in the desired casting pattern and then the molten metal is poured into the mold. The metal gets harden and reaches the desired shape. Once the object is made the wax mold is melted.

There is some controversy regarding the issue of the introduction of the 'lost-wax' casting technique to Iberia. According to Armada Pita *et al.* (2008: 508), the mastering of this process cannot be linked to existing native capabilities. Other scholars claim that this technique was used in pieces that appeared in the Villena Treasure, but since the dating of this treasure varies from the 14th century B.C. and 8th century B.C. it is not clear if this technique existed in Iberia prior to the arrival of the Aegeans (Tjeker) (Perea and Armbruster 1994; Torres Ortiz: personal communication).

The finds known as the 'depósito de fundidor' from Nossa Senhora de Guia (Silva *et al.* 1984: 73-109) exemplify bronze works made from the lost wax technique. Iberian lost-wax casting produced works similar to the 11th century B.C. bowls found in Canaan (i.e. Tell Jatt and Megiddo) (Wood *et al.* 2019).

The use of the lost-wax casting technique and the spinning wheel during Late Bronze Age in the Iberian Peninsula have been suggested to be used for the manufacture of gold cylindrical-shape items, such as the bracelets from Villena and Estremoz, with perfect

symmetries (Armbruster and Perea 1994: 69-87; Armbruster 2002: plates 81, 83, 85; Perea and Armbruster 2008: 510).

Ancient repairs were frequently made by the casting-on technique (Gomá 2018a: 269), which consisted of casting a new piece of metal to a pre-existing one (Figueiredo *et al.* 2011: 1209). This technique was known and was most certainly in use by the Late Bronze Age metallurgists of the Central Portuguese Beiras (Armbruster 2002–2003: 144-155). Although it has been associated with repairs, the casting-on technique was also used to manufacture artefacts, such as the chisel with an iron blade and bronze handles like the one found in Baiões. This was one of the first iron items built in the Iberian Peninsula (Vilaça 2006: 81-101).

Nails were used in Cyprus since the late 13th century B.C. (Catling 1964: 138) and did not exist in the Iberian Peninsula prior to the 12th century B.C. until some were identified in the Villena treasure (Perea 1991: 131). These findings could be linked to 'Cypriot' ceramic findings in Llanete de los Moros dated to the same period (see Chapter 15: Mycenaeans). It is highly probable that these Cypriot objects were brought by Aegeans sailors who previously settled in Cyprus. In the pre-Phoenician period nails also appeared in Peña Negra (González Prats 1990: 87, figs. 59, 60 and 88).

Some nails were made by joining two separate pieces, the head and the pin. Senna-Martinez (Figuereido *et al.* 2011: 1205) suggested that they could have been used to fabricate shields, like those represented in the warrior steles found in the Peninsula's south-west. If so, the nails must have had a decorative function since the shields were likely made from leather and/or wood, similar to others found in other European regions (Celestino Pérez 2008: 107-119).

The Eastern Mediterranean technologists that visited Iberia knew also how to extract silver from jarosite sources using cupellation. Cupellation is a high-temperature metallurgic refining process that separates gold or silver from impurities (Bayley 1995). The impurities are oxidized and partly vaporized or absorbed into the pores of a cupel, or a flat dish made of a high-temperature resistant material. According to Wood *et al.* (2019) the East Mediterranean miners and processors knew about cupellation before the Phoenicians/Tyrians (see Chapters 9: esp. Tell Keisan and Chapter 13: Material Culture).

In addition, the bronze-plating technique was used to develop both defensive and attack armament. Helmets, shields (whether they were notched or circular) and chariots were probably developed by using this technique. The same technique was also utilized to develop tableware (see below §1.4.1 Food and tableware).

1.3 New raw materials

Several types of materials came from foreign locations among them: ivory and amber. Ruiz-Gálvez Priego (1995: 137) focused on four sites with evidence of iron in Iberia between the 10th–9th centuries B.C., well before the appearance of the Phoenicians: Baiões, Villena (Almagro Gorbea 1993: 82, fig. 1:1-2), Peña Negra (east) and Ría de Huelva (south) (Almagro Gorbea 1993: 84). These iron items imply the arrival of foreigners.

1.3.1 Iron

The iron-object findings in Villena, the Ría de Huelva hoard (Ruiz-Gálvez Priego 2014b: 130-155), the deposit of Baiões (Ferreira da Silva 1986), and Peña Negra (González Prats 1992a: 144) indicate that they were not locally produced and that they preceded Iberia's Iron Age (Ruiz-Gálvez Priego 1995: 130-155).

According to Álvarez Sanchís *et al.* (2016: 151) the first iron objects were dated with the help of C^{14} to a pre-colonial period from the second half of the 12th century B.C. until c. 1000 B.C. According to Vilaca (2006) in central Portugal (Beiras Region) knives appeared in places such as Monte do Trigo, Beijás, Moreirinha and Monte do Frade dated to the 12th–10th century B.C. and they can be considered the oldest irons of the Iberian Peninsula. Mederos Martín (2008b: 63-64) has studied fourteen knives and four saws from these Portuguese sites, demonstrating that these irons are 'soft' and could not compete with a 'good' bronze. These knives have parallels in Cyprus c. 1050 B.C. (Torres Ortiz 2008).

In Alicante, the deposit of Villena, containing a phenomenal treasure with bracelets and tableware made of gold and silver (Soler 1965), includes an iron bracelet and other pieces that can be dated prior to 1100 B.C. and possibly hidden around the 13th–12th centuries B.C. (Hernández *et al*. 2014). According to (Ruiz-Gálvez Priego 1992; 1993) is important to realize its relation with Cypriot know-how.

In the center of Portugal, in Nossa Senhora da Guia (Baiões, S. Pedro do Sul) a large deposit was found, with more than 80 pieces and almost 18 kilograms of metal. It included table ware, banquet elements, weapons, ornament objects, tools etc. Among the tools a bronze chisel with an iron tip and an iron knife with a bronze handle (Silva *et al.* 1984: 170; Amburster 2002-2003: 146). This deposit was dated around the 9th century B.C. and includes both, bi-metalic imports (that include iron) and objects of local production.

Archaeological contexts and C^{14} studies dated 28 iron finds in Late Bronze Age settlements in the Beiras regions of Castelo Branco and Viseu before the arrival of the Phoenicians (Vilaça 2006: 81).

Some iron remains have also been documented in the Ría de Huelva deposit (dated to the 11th–10th century B.C). Another iron object has been identified in Peña Negra (González Prats 1992b: 245, 253-254) dated to the 9th century B.C. Álvarez Sanchís *et al* (2016: 153, fig. 3) presented a map indicating the ways the iron metallurgy made its appearance in the Iberian Peninsula. It seems that one way came from the Atlantic, another from the northeast and a third from the south (Mediterranean). These directions completely coincide with identified commercial routes.

1.3.2 Ivory

Two ivory combs were also found, one collected in the grave of Roça do Casal do Meio (Spindler *et al.* 1973/1974: 118-119, fig. 10:1), and another in a domestic context belonging to

the Late Bronze Age/Iron Age of Oeiras (Cardoso 2015). These ivory finds would have come from places outside Iberia, like Sardinia or Sicily (Ruiz-Gálvez Priego 1995: 140). It is possible that the Orientals sailed there, either on their way to the Peninsula or on their way back.

1.3.3 Amber

Amber started to appear in the last quarter of the 2nd millennium B.C. It was found in Roça do Casal do Meio (Portugal) on the west and in Peña Negra, Mola d'Agres (Peña Sánchez *et al.* 2014) and Villena (Alicante) on the east with the same chronology as the iron items discussed above.

Regarding its origin, according to Ruiz-Gálvez Priego (1993: 49) the amber found in Villena was imported either from Sicily or the Tyrrhenian Sea. Gomá (2018a: 210) identifies the object in which amber appears as belonging to the Wessex culture in the British Isles, which would suggest that the amber of Villena would be rather Baltic (Torres Ortiz, personal communication).

1.4 Elite social practices

1.4.1 Food and tableware

Main archaeological indicators of a society's social-layers are food and tableware (Goody 1982). Their quality differentiates between elites and non-elites. The use of tableware with noble materials was used in the Mediterranean (Ruiz-Gálvez Priego 1992: 234). The appearance of cauldrons, hooks and articulated spits demonstrates that the immigrant population cooked beef and lamb (Ruiz-Gálvez Priego 1995: 139).

1.4.2 Clothing and personal care

Regarding clothing, two major changes occurred during the 11th–9th centuries B.C.: First, a clothing-accessories industry started to emerge. Belt clasps, fibulae and pins were found in Ría Huelva implying their use by elites. Personal care items included hair removal-tweezers and combs (Ruiz-Gálvez Priego 1995: 139) like the one found in the tomb of Roça do Casal do Meio and other ones in the warrior stelae (Celestino Pérez 2001; Harrison 2004; Díaz-Guardamino 2010; 2012).

The former burial date to the 10th century B.C. (Cardoso 2015: 160) based on two exogenous artifacts: a fibula with a Sicilian parallel (Bernabò Brea 1972: fig. 34) and an ivory comb (Spindler *et al.* 1973/1974; Torres Ortiz 2008). None of these objects have any precedent in the region.

1.4.3 Transportation

Some scholars believe that metal bits for horse-reins (*pasarriendas*) have been found in Baiões (Ruiz-Gálvez Priego 1993: fig. 4, #11-14, #39) and Ría Huelva (Ruiz-Gálvez Priego 1995: 141) suggesting the possible use of chariots that very probably were brought to Iberia by the Tjeker. Others doubt that the findings in Ría Huelva would fill that function (Brandhern 2008: 27-34)

Chariots that were most probably of Cypriot origin (still related to the Tjeker material culture) were also frequently depicted in warrior-stelae in Beiras and Extremadura, and, to a lesser degree, in the Guadalquivir region (Galán 1993: 50) (see Chapter 16: Warrior Stones).

1.5 Accelerated economic development

The development of de-centralized economies facilitated independent entrepreneurs to take advantage of greater opportunities by participating in Mediterranean commerce. This process was accelerated with small and very efficient sailing vessels. Sherratt and Sherratt (1991: 373-4) indicated that Cypriotes (in our case the Tjeker) used Mycenaean routes and developed an iron industry in spite of its absence on Cyprus. It could well be that Cypriotes (Tjeker) visited Sardinia to trade for iron (Vagnetti 1986: 360; Vagnetti and Lo Schiavo 1989: 227, 232; Muhly and Stech 1990: 210-211).

All these changes reflected a substantial economic expansion that significantly impacted maritime commerce in which both Tjeker and later Sardinians played important roles. Although it seems that initially Sardinia depended on Cyprus, very quickly Sardinians caught up and started their own initiatives.

1.6 Conclusions

The spirit of exploration and entrepreneurship shown by the Tjeker in the 11th century B.C. sailing to the Iberian Peninsula was initially driven by the opportunity to find and extract tin. The initially limited foreign presence, evolved into a “tin rush” migration of groups headed by metal experts/traders/warriors/sailors. Later, while several groups of Tjeker continued to look for tin, others looked for silver. Substantial technology transfer and interaction changed the social and technological fabric of the Peninsula (see Chapter 14: Tjeker in Iberia).

2. Additional archaeological finds in Iberia

Torres Ortiz (2008: 62) makes reference to several sites in which Mycenean ceramics and objects were unearthed including Montoro, Cordoba, Purullena Granada; Belmeque Portugal (see Chapter 15: Mycenaeans). He (*ibid.*, 71) raises the issue of the need to improve the dating techniques to place the findings in the right context. As discussed in Chapter 16 (Warrior stones), controversies about dating in the Late Bronze Age still exist.

The Late Bronze Age in the Iberian Levante, the Ría de Huelva, and the Atlantic Iberia are reviewed below.

2.1 Iberian Levante

The trajectory that connects the main Balearic Islands (Minorca, Majorca and Ibiza) extends to the Iberian Levante at Alicante, surely to Cabo de la Nao. The Levante may have been preferred by sailors from the east probably because it was easy to dock, its well-developed agrarian economy attracted foreign business and trade (Ruiz-Gálvez Priego 1995: 143-44, 151), and because it was in route to the Atlantic.

2.1.1 Villena

Alicante's deposit of Villena contains a phenomenal treasure with bracelets and tableware made of gold and silver (Soler 1965). The treasure (Figure 18.1) weighed nearly 10 kilos, and consisted of several dozen objects made of gold (bottles, bowls, cylindrical bracelets; vessels and ribbons) plus silver vessels, iron and amber (Hernández *et al.* 2014: 593, 607). The treasure site was in the sands of a dry riverbed, four miles north-northeast of Villena, a less than 40-mile one-day sail through the Vinalopó River to the Mediterranean coast (Piggott 1983). Villena was optimally located as a communication center of natural and cattle routes that reached the minerals of the upper Guadalquivir valley.

Figure 18.1: The Villena Treasure (after Hernández *et al.* 2014)

Some authors date the treasure around the 13th century B.C. (Hernández *et al.* 2014) while Lucas Pellicer (1998: 189) suggests a time frame between the years 1250-1150 B.C.

Objects found in Villena may have been manufactured by foreign artisans, such as the bracelets which were built with rotative techniques (Armbruster 1993: 272-273; 1995: 159-160; Armbruster and Perea 1994: 73-74, 78-81) and that have no local precedents. This technological influence of the eastern Mediterranean in Villena's treasure was already pointed out by Ruiz-Gálvez Priego (1993: 143) who stated that some of the metallurgical techniques used in its

manufacture, such as the use of nails to join different pieces, derived from the eastern Mediterranean, advocating a Cypriot component in the technological know-how used in its manufacture.

2.1.2 Peña Negra

Other archaeological findings in Alicante include the site of Peña Negra. It is located between the mouth of the Vinalopó and Segura rivers and was a strategic point between the Central Mediterranean and the rest of the Iberian Peninsula (Ruiz-Gálvez Priego 1995: 150). Its residents inhabited several circular or oblong huts with red-clay walls and stone socles (Contreras 1982).

In this site, a workshop was found which was proposed that worked metals and textiles (González Prats 1983; 1990; 1992a; 1993). Because these two activities are so distinctive, they likely occurred at different times, and according to Ruiz-Gálvez Priego (1995: 140) by foreigners.

Nonetheless, the new excavations directed by A. Lorrio seem to indicate that the metallurgic activity took place before the textile activity (Torres Ortiz, personal communication; see also Vinader 2019: 31ff.).

Peña Negra findings also included elbow-fibulae, ivory bracelets, fayence beads and hair removal tweezers. The fibulae may have belonged to Cypriotes (Ruiz-Gálvez Priego 1995: 149), while the tweezers are comparable to the findings in the tomb in Roça do Casal do Meio (Ruiz-Gálvez Priego 1995: 140). An iron find (González Prats 1992a: 144) confirms it was an import (Ruiz-Gálvez Priego 1995: 138) as does the finding of nails (González Prats 1990: 87, figs. 59 and 60).

2.2 Ría de Huelva (south)

The Huelva peninsula was surrounded by the rivers Tinto, Odiel and Anicoba, and was easily accessible. Foreigners were already smelting and trading silver from the Río Tinto region in the 11th century B.C. (see Chapter 9: Tell Keisan and Chapter 14: Tjeker in Iberia).

The hoard of Ría de Huelva, discovered in 1923, included more than 400 pieces with both Atlantic and Mediterranean morphologies. Some objects were probably casted in the Peninsula's southwest; others seem to reproduce foreign objects. Most of the hoard's finds were offensive weapons such as swords, daggers, spearheads and arrowheads. Other items included helmets, fibulae, buttons, belt clasps and even a needle.

Many of the swords and helmets were broken. Perhaps they were scrap from a sunken ship. The idea of a ship transporting scrap from the southwest and sinking at port may be a reasonable explanation (Almagro Basch 1940). However, the hoard was homogeneous and may have belonged to an elite social class. Alternatively, maybe the broken weapons were part of a burial site and reflected a funerary practice (Ruiz-Gálvez Priego 1995: 141).

Various sources have dated the Ría Huelva hoard to the same period: 1004-926 B.C. (calibrated C^{14} tests); 1050-950 B.C. (Torres Ortiz 2008: 64); and between the mid-11th and late-10th centuries B.C. (Gómez Toscano and Fundoni 2010-2011: 24). Some of the Huelva-type swords identified have been attributed to the 11th century B.C. and Andalusian workshops produced them (Brandherm 2007: 86). From a typological point of view, there is no doubt that the Huelva-type fibulae were used in the last years of the 2nd millennium B.C. (Gómez Toscano and Fundoni 2010-2011: 24).

2.3 Atlantic Iberia

2.3.1 Baiões - Nossa Senhora da Guia

A smelting area was identified in the castro of Nossa Senhora da Guia in Baiões (Senna-Martinez 2000). It included two ritual supports with Cypriot parallels, an 'ad-occhio' fibula of Sicilian derivation, bronze bowls and two weights of Eastern metrology (Vilaça 2003: 260, 282 fig. 1: 5-6, 286 fig. 4) in conjunction with a typical metallic group of the Atlantic Late Bronze Age.

This group has been named the 'smelter deposit' (Ruiz-Gálvez Priego 1993: 50). Controversy developed about its dating, while some (Mederos Martín 1997b: 77-78 tables 2-3; Armada *et al.* 2008: 494) date these findings earlier than those at Ría Huelva, others (Ruiz-Gálvez 1984: 292-306, 541 fig. 25, 545; Castro *et al.* 1996: 204, 207-208, 217-218; Torres Ortiz 2008: 71) believe they should be dated later.

The difference between the Baiões deposit and the hoard of Ría Huelva is significant since Baiões contains newly produced pieces while the Ría Huelva finds were considered useless (Ruiz-Gálvez Priego 1995: 131).

2.3.2 Roca do Casal do Meio

One of the most interesting Iberian finds from the 10th–9th centuries B.C. is the tomb of Roça do Casal do Meio. It is located in the city of Setubal (southeast of Lisbon, Portugal) in an estuary by the Sado River, which is one of the major rivers in Portugal and the only one flowing in a northerly direction through 109 miles from its springs in Ourique to the Atlantic Ocean.

Spindler and Veiga Ferreira (1973: 71) claimed that this tomb may be Sardinian. Belén *et al.* (1991: 225-256) and Soares (2014) supported this view because its construction is very similar to tombs found in Nuragic-Sardinia. They assumed the men buried in this tomb were probably Sardinian merchants. Nothing similar has been found elsewhere in the Peninsula.

Nevertheless, it cannot be ruled out the possibility of a re-use of a megalithic monument of the Late Bronze Age (Torres Ortiz 2002: 355; Vilaça and Cumha 2005: 49-50). Other objects found in the tomb of the Casal de Maio include a fibula, belt clasp, ivory comb, hair-removal tweezers, and other ivories (Spindler and Veiga Ferreira 1973: 71). The fibula's and belt clasp's

fragility and small size imply the two entombed individuals wore fine garments. Some of these objects (e.g. fibula, comb, and tweezers) are commonly depicted icons in warrior stelae (see Chapter 16: Warrior Stones).

The Portuguese tomb's lack of weaponry indicates that some elites were not warriors. Several items had no precedent in Iberia at that time including the fibula and the ivory comb. The Portuguese fibula is comparable to the c. 11^{th}–10^{th} centuries B.C. Sicilian "ad-occhio" (Ruiz-Gálvez Priego 1995: 139), and to the c. 1090-1060 B.C. Sicilian specimen from Pantalica II/III stage (Late Helladic IIIC) (Bernabò Brea 1972: fig.34). Like the Peña Negra bracelets, the ivory comb (Cardoso 2002: fig. 307) (Figure 18.2) was present in Iberia prior to the Phoenician imports (González Prats 1990). This reaffirms the previously discussed observations by Ruiz-Gálvez Priego regarding the absence of Phoenicians then. As a whole, the date attributable to Roça do Casal do Meio seem to suggest a slightly more recent date than the one attributable to the Ría de Huelva deposit, although the fact that Casal do Meio dates have been based on the analysis of human bone while the second was based on wood testing may open the possibility that both contexts were contemporary (Torres Ortiz 2008: 66).

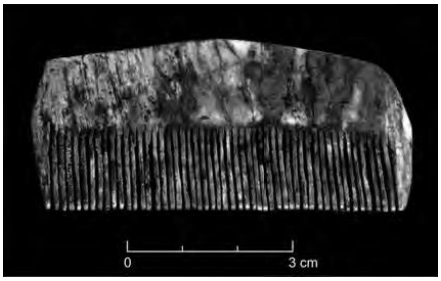


Figure 18.2: Ivory comb from Roca do Casal do Meio (after Cardoso 2002)

2.4 Summary tables

The table below summarizes where comparable objects were found in western and eastern Iberia (Figure 18.3).

	Roca do Casal do Meio	***Peña Negra***	***Villena***
Elbow fibulae		✓	
Ivory bracelets		✓	
Hair-removal tweezers	✓	✓	
Nails		✓	✓

Figure 18.3: Non-Iberian objects found prior to the Tyrian colonization

The table below summarizes where materials of foreign origin were found in western and eastern Iberia (Figure 18.4).

	Roca do Casal do Meio	***Peña Negra***	***Villena***
Amber	✓	✓	✓
Iron		✓	✓
Ivory	✓	✓	

Figure 18.4: Materials of foreign origin identified in Iberia (12th–10th century B.C.)

CONCLUSIONS AND EPILOGUE

Chapter 19: Conclusions and Epilogue

The pre-colonization period of the Iberian Peninsula occurred during the 12th–9th centuries B.C. It was followed by the Phoenician colonization. So why do we know so much more about the Phoenicians than about those that preceded them?

One possible reason is that historians - based mostly on numerous archaeological findings and classical literature - knew who the Phoenicians were, from where they came and where they landed. On the other side there are still controversies – and lack of knowledge – about who were the Orientals that sailed to Iberia in the 12th century B.C. and beyond. To understand who these people were and their motivation, this research started in the Levant, and focused in detail on those groups that could be the best candidates to achieve such a maritime challenge.

The genesis of this process may have begun in the 14th century B.C. with conflicts between the Mycenaeans (Ahhiyawans) and Hittites. Egypt took its own measures to contain the Hittites (see Chapter 6). Then, in the 13th century B.C., Egypt battled the Hittites in Kadesh (c. 1275 B.C.) and in c. 1259 B.C. these rivals signed a peace treaty whereby they agreed to peace and mutual defense against foreign aggression. The late 13th-early 12th century B.C. appearance in the Levant of the so-called Sea Peoples may have been due to drought, famine, earthquakes, dissidence in their home-lands, or their intent to disrupt the north-south commercial trade routes between Egypt and the Hittites.

According to interpretations of Egyptian reliefs and texts, the main Aegean groups of Sea Peoples who reached Canaan and were defeated by Egypt c. 1175 B.C. were the Philistines, Tjeker and Denyen. Seventy-five years later (c. 1100 B.C.), according to interpretations of the Onomasticon of Amenope, several ethnic groups inhabiting costal Canaan included the Philistines, Tjeker, Sherden, and Asherites. In this work, each of these groups was researched, and the most probable group that may have reached Iberia was identified. This dissertation included three parts.

1. Work scope

Part I presented the main protagonists in the region including the Philistines, Denyen, Sherden, Tjeker as well as the Asherites, Canaanites, Tyrians and other Israelites (see Chapters 2-6). Through this process, the history and activities of the Tjeker in Cyprus, Canaan and Iberia offered so many new insights I devoted a large portion of the rest of this work to them.

Part II started with the history and archaeological findings linked to the Tjeker in Cyprus (see Chapter 7). Chapters 8-13 led to new interpretations of archaeological findings that propose some ideas to resolve some historical problems in northern Canaan. I believe these new interpretations help to understand the whereabouts of the Tjeker as well as some important elements of Egyptian and Israelite history.

Although the Old Testament does not specifically deal with the Tjeker, I propose that the the biblical "Philistines" encompassed both Philistines (Peleset) and Tjeker (Sikil), or the Sea Peoples who settled northern and southern Canaan.

The number of sites identified in northern Canaan that were controlled or occupied by the Tjeker was large. This thorough study led to identify where the Tjeker were located, as well as the chronology of the events in which the Tjeker played a major role. This resulted in a comprehensive understanding of their material culture.

This work defined the Tjeker as peoples of the sea in the central and eastern Mediterranean who shared maritime trade and elements of material culture. They likely included Greeks from the Argolid and Peloponesse who made their way to Cyprus and Canaan towards the late 13th century B.C., after the fall of the Mycenaean palatial period c. 1200 B.C. They fought against the Egyptians in the early and late-12th century B.C. The term "Tjeker" extends as well to their descendants, whether they lived in the Aegean, Cyprus, northern Canaan, or elsewhere. The present work exposed several myths and legends and offered new interpretations that may better represent the history of the Tjeker and of northern Canaan during this period of study.

Many objects found in Tjeker sites have been attributed to Phoenicians, Sherden Canaanites and Philistines (Stern 2000b: 204, cf Dothan, M. 1986; 1993: 20-21; Artzy 2006: 81 cf Dothan, M. 1986: 107; Stern 2013: 18 cf Dothan, M. 1986: 106; 1989b: 60; Dothan and Dothan 1992: 213-215; Yasur-Landau 2006). Based on their interpretations of the Onomasticon of Amenope, some scholars attributed a Sherden presence north of Dor, in the Akko Valley and even the northern shores of Canaan, but this work concludes that there were no Sherden after c. 1130 B.C. in these regions, and that the archaeological finds better support the Tjeker narrative (see Chapter 4 and Chapters 6-13).

Part III built on the base of Parts I and II to explore and decide who were the 12th century B.C. Orientals that departed from the Levant and visited the Peninsula. One of the first leads to help connect Canaan and Cyprus with Iberia came from the bronze bowl of Berzocana (Cáceres) in Extremadura. Many similar bowls unearthed in Cyprus and Canaan were also identified. The Appendix to this dissertation provides a summary of a comprehensive study aimed to identify the bowls' characteristics, uses, dating, and possible owners

As such, individuals from Aegean groups - Philistines, Tjeker and maybe Denyen - may have used such bronze bowls as wine-drinking vessels during their life-times. Such bronze-works were also found in elite burial graves. This link between the Aegean groups and the Berzocana bowl raised additional questions, such as: how, when and why did this bowl, which was manufactured in Canaan with Feynan copper, reach Iberia? While Parts I and II exposed a very interesting narrative about the Tjeker in Cyprus and Canaan, linking the Tjeker in Iberia was even more challenging to investigate and may be the most revealing part of this work.

2. Answers to questions

The Introduction to this thesis formulated a few questions that came up as a result of existing interpretations and controversies found in the literature. Included below are my answers to each of them.

1. *Were the Philistines mercenaries in the Egyptian army?*

The Philistines were not Egyptians mercenaries; they were their declared enemies. Early in the 12th century B.C. on their way to southern Canaan, Philistines destroyed and occupied most of the Egyptian garrisons as well as other Canaanite sites and key coastal ports. They also took control of the Horus Way, the main route that connected Egypt with Mesopotamia (see Chapter 2: Philistines).

2. *The land battle between the Egyptians and the Sea Peoples is known as the Battle of Djahi. Did it take place in Canaan or by the mouth of the Nile?*

The Battle of Djahi took place in northern Canaan in areas where the Tjeker started their settlements (see Chapter 4 and Chapter 6).

3. *What was the fate of those who were vanquished in the Battle of Djahi? Is there any archaeological evidence?*

Based on the depictions at Medinet Habu, the Tjeker were defeated by the Egyptians and their Sherden mercenaries and some of them probably found refuge in Cyprus. The subsequent founding of Pyla-Kokkinokremos and Maa-Palaeokastro represent evidence of a renewed Tjeker presence in the isle. The lack of Tjeker findings in northern Canaan, in particular Dor, from the time of the Battle of Djahi until c. 1130 B.C. supports their absence from Canaan for about half a century (see Chapter 2: Philistines, Chapter 6: Tjeker and Chapter 7: Cyprus and Ugarit).

4. *The Denyen are regarded as another of the Sea Peoples groups that landed in Canaan. However, some have suggested that they are actually related to the Israelite tribe of Dan. Is that true?*

No evidence was found of Denyen being present in Canaan or of being related to the Danites (see Chapter 3).

5. *The Sherden are also considered to be a Sea Peoples group. Were the Sherden part of the Sea Peoples coalition or did they fight against them?*

The Sherden were not part of the coalition that battled Egypt c. 1175 B.C. They were mercenaries in the Egyptian garrisons that fought against the Aegean Sea Peoples both in land and sea battles (see Chapter 4).

6. *Another assumption is that the Sea Peoples' arrival to Canaan was contemporaneous with the arrival of the Israelites' (including the tribe of Asher). Is this true?*

Archaeological evidence and textual references support an Israelite presence in the Levant prior to the 12th century B.C. (see Chapter 5).

7. *What groups of the original Sea Peoples remained in Canaan around c. 1050 B.C.?*

The only two groups that were part of the early 12th century B.C. Sea Peoples confederation and who were in Canaan around 1050 B.C. were the Tjeker in the north and the Philistines in the south. The Yarkon River was the natural boundary between their operational areas.

8. *While most academics describe the Tjeker presence only in the eastern Levant, archaeological evidence suggests that perhaps their reach also extended to the Western Mediterranean (as far as the Iberian Peninsula). Is there any evidence to substantiate this claim?*

There is evidence based on archaeological findings in Iberia, Cyprus and Canaan that the Tjeker reached the Iberian Peninsula (see Chapter 14).

9. *If there is evidence, where did the 12th century B.C. Tjeker arrive in Iberia?*

I believe the Tjeker arrived in Atlantic Iberia, Extremadura and Huelva (see Chapter 14).

10. *Soldiers in the city of Mycenae used horned helmets as well as rounded shields, as did the Sherden. Who are depicted in the Iberian warrior stelae?*

The depictions in the stelae (horned helmets and round shields) could have represented either Mycenaean or Sardinian influence on the local population. The locals adopted new and foreign products, technologies, fashion and objects for personal grooming.

11. *The bowl of Berzocana was always accepted as an Oriental object. What was the source of the copper used in its production?*

The bowl of Berzocana, like many of the bronze objects found in northern Canaan, was manufactured with Feynan copper (see Appendix).

12. *What do the 12th/11th century B.C. articulated spits tell, if anything, about the routes followed by those seeking tin?*

The articulated spits that were found in Iberia, Britanny and Britain clearly track the route taken from the Iberian Atlantic to the tin mines in Cornwall (see Chapter 14).

3. Canaan

The vast number of objects unearthed in northern Canaan that can be attributed to the Tjeker and the identification of numerous locations where the Tjeker settled during the period 12th–10th centuries B.C. enabled a deep study of the Tjeker material culture. The research and analysis conducted on some of these locations clarified their stratigraphy and chronology. This effort led to the development of a framework (the Zorea Model) that includes a historical narrative supported by its corresponding archaeological evidence. This historical model was strengthened each time an additional major site was added to the group. The combined picture of the most relevant sites (i.e. Dor, Tel Dan, Hazor, Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, Achziv and several others) solidified the understanding of the Tjeker culture, as well as the account of historic events that impacted them and other groups in the region during the 12th–10th centuries B.C.

4. Zorea Model

In the late 13th - early 12th centuries B.C. the Tjeker occupied the northern coasts of Canaan. That presence was relatively short-lived as they were defeated by the Egyptian/Sherden forces in the battle of Djahi c. 1175 B.C. and in which Tjeker women and children were also massacred (see Chapter 4). Tjeker survivors found refuge back in Cyprus.

Although the Medinet Habu friezes depict an Egyptian and Sherden success, there are two facts that cannot be ignored:

a) Egypt use to exaggerate its Pharaohs' military successes.

b) Before this conflict with the Sea Peoples, the Egyptian economy was already challenged since the Horus Way, the coastal land-trade route from Egypt towards Mesopotamia, was controlled by the Philistines since c. 1190 B.C. or shortly after.

This investigation initially considered the Tjeker as simply one of the several Sea Peoples. However, as the research deepened, they became the main-motif of this work. They left their signature in multiple regions (e.g. northern Canaan, Cyprus, Iberia, France, Britain and Sardinia), operating maritime routes that brought them success in metal acquisition and trade.

For half a century the Tjeker developed industrial settlements in Cyprus dedicated to the production of ceramics and metal objects (see Chapter 7). Around 1130 B.C., they abandoned the industrial sites of Maa Paliokastro, Pyla Kokinokremos and Hala Sultan Teke and coordinated an attack against Egyptian garrisons in northern Canaan. Whether it was their way to access Feynan copper, acquire land or retaliate for the battle of Djahi is not known. They initially returned to Dor and locations around the Akko bay, then moved east. This time, Egypt lost access to the International Highway by way of the inland/eastern branch through the Arabah and Jordan Valleys.

The Tjeker developed their pottery and metallurgical skills in Canaan as evidenced by the findings in Dor, Zeror, Jatt, Achziv and numerous other locations (see Chapters 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12). Their success was a result of initiatives led by groups of warrior-entrepreneurs whose unique abilities developed long-haul navigation systems to reach Iberia (e.g. Andalucía, Portuguese territories, and Galicia) more than two centuries before the biblical mid-10th century B.C. Tyrian "ships of Tarshish". They excelled in very complex metallurgic processes, explored sources of tin in the western Mediterranean and North Atlantic, and made personal care an important part of their lives. They traded metals (copper, tin, bronze, and later silver) and bronze-objects across the Mediterranean including the Iberian Peninsula (Zorea 2018b).

Scholarly literature often refers to the Tjeker as Cypriots, because in the 12th century B.C. many were probably born in Cyprus and sailed from the island. They initially explored Atlantic routes in search of tin, and manufactured bronze objects in Iberia with local materials. The combination of the archaeological evidence (e.g. the bowl of Berzocana, warrior steles, axes, adzes, arrowheads, articulated spits, flesh-hooks, cauldrons and other objects found) support the presence of this group of Sea Peoples in Beiras, Extremadura, and Galicia. From there they continued north to France (Brittany) and then Britain. Later when Mediterranean demand for

silver increased, Tjeker groups from the Levant were probably the first to import it from the mines of Rio Tinto. The warrior steles unearthed in Iberia may provide more evidence about the possible connectivity between Cypriot products and Iberia.

According to biblical narratives, Canaan was also populated by 12 Israelite tribes including the tribe of Asher. The Asherites were confronted by Egyptians Pharaohs such as Seti I and Merneptah in northern Canaan in the early and late 13th century B.C., prior to the arrival of the Sea Peoples in Canaan (see Chapter 5). They were also affected by the presence of the Tjeker. The Old Testament Song of Deborah (c. 1180 B.C.), in which the tribe of Asher was missing from the Israelite coalition in Megiddo may have been due to the presence of the Tjeker (see Chapter 5). The second time took place at the end of the 12th century B.C. (c. 1130 B.C.) when the Tjeker returned from Cyprus.

Around c. 980 B.C., biblical narratives describe Israelite King David defeating the Philistines in southern Canaan and restricting them to the cities of their pentapolis (Gaza, Ekron, Gath, Ashdod and Ashkelon). The Tjeker are not mentioned in the Bible but the Israelite victory over the Philistines extended to northern Canaan, which is where the Tjeker were located. It stands to reason that the Israelite victors in the north may have included Asherites.

In the second half of the 10th century B.C. biblical narratives (1 Kings 9:11) note that king Solomon transferred to the Tyrians the twenty cities of Cabul in the area previously allotted to the tribe of Asher:

יאחִירָם מֶלֶךְ־צֹר נָשָׂא אֶת־שְׁלֹמֹה בַּעֲצֵי אֲרָזִים וּבַעֲצֵי בְרוֹשִׁים וּבַזָּהָב לְכָל־חֶפְצֹו אָז יִתֵּן הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה לְחִירָם עָשְׂרִים עִיר בְּאֶרֶץ הַגָּלִיל׃

11 Hiram, the king of Tyre, had supplied Solomon with cedar wood, and with cypress wood, and with gold, as according to all his wishes, then king Solomon gave Hiram in return twenty cities in the land of Galilee.

Tyre gained possession of many Tjeker territories in and around coastal northern Canaan (Stern 1990). This, access to fertile land and new ports allowed the Tyrians to intensify their maritime activity and expand their economic power across the Mediterranean through the trade of wine and oil.

While some of the Tjeker that survived the defeat in Canaan c.980 B.C. migrated to Cyprus, others may have stayed or headed to Tyre.

Israelite King Solomon and Tyrian King Hiram furthered their partnership with ‘ships of Tarshish’ (1 Kings 10:22)

כבכִּי אֳנִי תַרְשִׁישׁ לַמֶּלֶךְ בַּיָּם עִם אֳנִי חִירָם אַחַת לְשָׁלֹשׁ שָׁנִים תָּבוֹא | אֳנִי תַרְשִׁישׁ נֹשְׂאֹת זָהָב וָכֶסֶף שֶׁנְהַבִּים וְקֹפִים וְתֻכִּיִּים׃

22 For the king had at sea ships of Tarshish with Hiram's ships; once in three years, the ships of Tarshish would come bearing gold and silver, ivory and monkeys and peacocks.

Tyre built new ships similar to the Sea Peoples vessels (see Chapter 13), improving navigation systems and developing alternative products while using the same Mediterranean maritime routes. This is how they reached the Iberian Peninsula.

Thus, Ruiz-Gálvez Priego (2014a) wrote:

> "The growing body of evidence for Cypriot or Canaanite/Levantine presence in Iberia suggests that the Phoenicians might not have been the protagonists in the first exchanges and that when the Phoenicians arrived in the west, they already knew exactly where they were sailing to and what they were looking for."

Tyrian involvement with the Iberian Peninsula intensified in the 9th century B.C. as they become part of the Mediterranean trade network. Their expansion in the silver business may have escalated competition into military conflict as testified by the Nora Stone, which emphasizes the possible antagonism between Tyrians and people in Iberia. The stone inscription also highlights the existence of Tarshish (Tartessos).

5. Iberia

As expressed in Chapter 17, the theory of continuity claims that the use of vertical stelae identified in Iberia and their depictions represent a local response to a process of evolution affected by the continuous presence of foreigners from Cyprus, Sardinia and Canaan who were interested mainly in metals (tin, silver and gold).

During the 12th century B.C. there is evidence of a Tjeker presence in the North Atlantic (see Chapter 14) and, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, it is feasible that the warrior-slabs made their appearance at the same time as the Tjeker or earlier. It seems that both the Tjeker and the locals used cist graves in their mortuary practices, therefore these types of graves cannot be used to differentiate between these two groups.

At the end of the 12th century B.C. and in particular in the 11th century B.C., people that lived in Mycenae and other areas of the Peloponnese peninsula migrated east and west, and some may have reached Iberia. Since the Tjeker in Cyprus and northern Canaan did not use cremation, there is a possibility that those coming from Mycenae were responsible for introducing the practice of cremating deceased elite warriors to the Peninsula.

Simultaneously, the Tjeker continued to search for metals, mining tin in Extremadura, and using their cupellation skills to extract silver from the Rio Tinto mines in the Huelva region (see Chapter 14).

Later in the 11th century B.C. warrior stelae include anthropomorphic depictions perhaps reflecting locals who adopted Tjeker customs. While the Tjeker presence is testified by contemporary objects like the bowl of Berzocana and the use of articulated spits, the warrior stones depict personal objects such as mirrors and combs that were produced in the central Mediterranean and Cyprus, as well as larger objects such as chariots and lyres which the Tjeker likely brought from Cyprus. The importance given by the locals to objects of personal use and weaponry emphasizes the development of a hierarchical society that benefited from trade and looked constantly to improve and develop.

After 1050 B.C. the Tjeker rebuilt Dor and expanded to further urbanize other sites in northern Canaan (Megiddo, Tel Dan, Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, Tell Qasile). Part of this expansion extened to Cyprus and may have reached Sardinia.

At the beginning of the 10th century, after their defeat in Canaan the Tjeker continued their Mediterranean operations from Cyprus and possibly also from Sardinia. Perhaps it is more than simple coincidence that 10th–9th centuries B.C. Sardinians also appeared in the Peninsula. Sardinians, who adopted metallurgic techniques from the Tjeker, started to develop their own products and artistic statuettes. It is feasible that some of the locals adopted the use of the horned helmets. The findings of Nuragic pottery corresponding to that time represent firm evidence of Sardinian presence in the Peninsula (see Chapter 17).

When looked at as an evolutionary group, it could very well be that the warrior stones (slabs and stelae) used by the local elites since the 12th century B.C. and for the next four centuries tell a detailed story of what took place in Iberia (Almagro Gorbea 1977: 189; Mederos Martín 2012: 445). The depictions in those stones tell a story about major changes that took place in Iberia over time.

No archaeological evidence has been identified that indicates that any foreign group settled in Iberia in large numbers during this period. The archaeological evidence (or lack of evidence) makes me believe that while some of the foreigners came and left, the locals absorbed some of their manners and technologies (first the Tjeker and Mycenean, and then Sardinian) to build a hierarchical society in Atlantic Iberia. This local society may have absorbed these foreigners and their amalgamation became the fabric of a society in southwestern Iberia that some scholars name Tartessos.

Through these stelae the locals showed that they had the ability to:

a) Fight for and defend their interests (the display of weapons in the warrior stones provides evidence of the fundamental role weapons played in Iberia throughout this whole period).
b) Trade with whoever had something of value to offer.
c) Develop a hierarchical society whose elite enjoyed the benefits of new bronze products.
d) Absorb the technologies used by foreigners in Iberia.
e) Build offensive and defensive weaponry.
f) Absorb the foreigners that stayed in Iberia, and build a cosmopolitan society that was properly structured, well before the Phoenician colonization.

6. What happened to the Sea Peoples and other protagonists?

As previously discussed (see Chapter 4: Sherden and Chapter 6: Tjeker), in 1130 B.C. the Egyptians were forced out of Canaan by the Tjeker until their return to the region 170 years later.

The Denyen were one of the Sea Peoples groups that also participated in the Battle of the Delta. However, very little is known about the Denyen. The similarity in the names of Denyen and Dan inspired many conjectures. According to one interpretation, the Denyen could have landed in Canaan close to the territory allotted to the Israelite tribe of Dan. Similar to the Tjeker, they are not named in the Bible. Another theory claims that upon their arrival to Canaan, the Denyen blended with the Israelite tribe of Dan and then vanished as an ethnical entity. In spite of

the numerous legends written about them, no concrete evidence was identified to support a precise narrative (see Chapter 3: Denyen and Chapter 11: Tel Dan).

The only non-Aegeans that also appeared in Egypt and Canaan were the Sherden, although not as members of the Sea Peoples invasion. They were originally from Sardinia (Ugas 2016) and participated in both the land Battle of Djahi (Canaan) as well as the sea Battle of the Delta. In both occasions, they fought as Egyptian mercenaries (see Chapter 4). For decades they manned Egyptian garrisons and observations points in Canaan, such as El-Ahwat.

In c. 1130 B.C., the Egyptians were defeated by the Tjeker and left northern Canaan. The remaining Sherden probably assimilated with the local population and vanished as an ethnical entity. Their presence is evidenced by archaeological finds like those identified at El-Ahwat and Tell es-Sa'idiyeh. Although mentioned by the Onomasticon of Amenope (c. 1100 B.C.), no evidence has been identified that confirms their presence at that point.

After the Tjeker were defeated c. 980 B.C. by the Israelites in Canaan, some found refuge in Cyprus while others probably headed to Tyre and even to Sardinia, where Cypriot designs started to appear. Tjeker designs and metallurgic processes appeared in Sardinia, and the island led direct dealings with Iberia.

In the mid-10th century B.C., Tyre received the biblical region of Cabul from King Solomon. After this agreement, the tribe of Asher seems to have vanished as an independent group. Tyrians took over northern Canaan's coasts and ports, absorbing their local populations. Tyrians industrialized silver in the 10th–9th centuries B.C. and in particular to serve the Assyrians in the 8th century B.C.

Tyrians held the region of Cabul until the time of Israelite King Ahab (871-852 B.C.) who recovered it, allowing other Israelites to inhabit the region again (Zvi Gal 2019: personal communication).

According to the Bible, in the late 8th century B.C., Tyrians partnered with Philistines and enslaved Israelites who were defeated by the Assyrians.

Around 600 B.C., the Babylonians wiped out the Philistines and defeated the Israelites. With the disappearance of the Philistines, the 600-year long saga of Sea Peoples in Canaan came to an end.

Finally, in the early 6th century B.C., Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar placed Tyre under siege for 13 years (586-573 B.C.). After hundreds of years of commercial Mediterranean dominance, the Tyrians lost their hegemony, giving path to a new super-power: Carthage.

7. The formation of Tartessos

According to Almagro Gorbea (1977: 190), from the early-9th century B.C. until the 7th century B.C., the most evolved and rich warrior stelae depictions indicate an increase of contacts during Iberia's colonization. By this time elbow fibulae and notched V shields had disappeared. Iconography like Carambolo-type or the Ategua stele began to emerge (Bendala Galán 1977: 191-192). The use of iron and wheel-made pottery became evident. According to Almagro

Gorbea (1998: 95), the development of Iberia's artisan-work could be defined as Sirio-Phoenician-Cypriote characterizing the beginning of colonial commerce. He added (*ibid.*, 96; translated from Spanish by Zorea):

> "The "pre-colonial" elements that come through the Iberian Peninsula to the Atlantic Late Bronze explain contacts of great cultural and historical significance in the change processes that characterize the transformations that took place in the Final Bronze of the Western Mediterranean and the Atlantic since the end of the second millennium B.C. These contacts, for which it is possible to assume a model is still poorly known, are different from the colonial ones and are closer to the expeditions and trips of the 'Sea Peoples', explain the formation of the socio-economic structure of Tartessos as well as its evolution towards a complex society and the formation of a social elite before the start of the Phoenician colonization."

8. Final words: the value of understanding history

I believed that the interpretations offered in this work, which were derived from a multi-disciplinary research, have provided two major contributions.

The first relates to a better understanding of historic events that took place more than 3000 years ago. This understanding has led to a deeper knowledge about the Sea Peoples and the history of the Mediterranean during the 12^{th}–10^{th} centuries B.C. It is the result of a thorough integration of archaeological findings, Egyptian documents, biblical narratives, the use of chronology (a very important tool) and a thorough process of logic-coordination. Accordingly, legends, myths and nebulous historical events were clarified.

New facts were added to the existing interpretations, enabling the presentation of what is believed to be a coherent historic narrative of what took place during such an intriguing period. The connectivity created by the Tjeker between the Eastern and Western Mediterranean around that period has definitively been validated.

The second set of conclusions relate to the fact that nothing has changed and that many of the occurrences of those days seem to echo parallel events today. Countries with the most advanced technologies dominate the world economically and militarily. Emerging powers copied and acquired the leading technologies to leap-frog the existing state of the art. Technological achievements (civil and military) and trade capabilities decide the world's leadership. These are the dynamics that ruled the Mediterranean world 3000 years ago, same as they rule the global world today.

Furthermore, uninvolved third parties sometimes benefit from military conflicts elsewhere. For example, although Egypt defeated the Tjeker in northern Canaan in the Battle of Djahi, Cyprus benefited from the influx of an industrial Tjeker migration that led to advanced development of metal technologies and manufacturing techniques.

When the Israelites defeated the Philistines and the Tjeker in the early 10^{th} century B.C., the Tyrians benefited the most and to a lesser degree so did the Sardinians. The influx of Cypro-Aegean refugees helped boost Sardinian artisan activity.

When the Assyrians attacked and destroyed the Kingdom of Israel, Tyrians started to enslave Israelites and expanded their slave-trade business.

When the Tyrians were under a naval blockade by the Babylonians, Carthage emerged as a dominant force in the Mediterranean.

Through a better understanding of pre-historic societies, we may be able to approach modern challenges in new ways.

APPENDIX

Theories about the bronze bowl of Berzocana and the East Mediterranean in the 12th – 10th centuries B.C.[40]

1. The bowl of Berzocana and its antiquity

The bowl of Berzocana was found by chance in April 1961 by Domingo Sanchez Pulido (a goat-herder) and Urbano Montes Sanchez (a property owner) in a site named Los Machos in an area called El Terrero, about 3 miles north of the town of Berzocana, Cáceres, Extremadura, Spain (Armada 2007: 270-281; Duque Espino *et al*. 2017: 125-171). They saw a blackened metal bowl emerging from the mountain stones. Due to its thin structure and oxidation, a part of the bowl broke and was lost. The rim was found detached from the rest of the vessel, but in its entirety. Carlos Callejo, curator of the Museum of Cáceres, later recovered the bowl and rim (Figure A.1).

Figure A.1: Bowl of Berzocana (after Museo Arqueológico Nacional de Madrid)

[40] This Appendix is based on and is an update of Zorea (2018b).

In Spanish, the bowl is called a *pátera* or *cuenco*, meaning a shallow container. It has a rim diameter of about 16.5 cm, maximum diameter of 17.2 cm (which indicates a convergent edge), base diameter of 8 cm and height of 3.6 cm (Callejo and Blanco 1960: 250-255). Its body is made from a 0.8 mm thin sheet of bronze, its base measures 1.2 cm thick and its rim measures 0.2 cm thick. Its current weight is 230 grams and it has two small holes. Some authors believe these holes indicate that the bowl originally had a riveted handle (Almagro Gorbea 1977: 244), while others think the holes were used to repair a fracture.

Although this bowl was not found in a necropolis or a tomb, it seems that it was hidden in the ground, and subsequently partially exposed to the elements. According to Callejo and Blanco (1960: 250-255), three torques of solid gold were found inside the bowl. One of the three torques was sold and melted before it could be recovered; the bowl and the remaining torques were taken to the Juzgado de Navazuelas. On May 18, 1961, they were transferred to the Provincial Museum of Caceres. In 1964, the Dirección General de Bellas Artes bought the three artifacts and kept them in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional (MAN) in Madrid, Spain (Celestino Pérez and Blanco Fernández 2006: 106).

Various authors have assessed the origin of the bowl differently. Callejo and Blanco (1960) thought it could be a local production, while Almagro Gorbea (2001: 243-245), Mederos Martín (1996: 104-7) and Crielaard (1998: 192, 194) believed the object was of East Mediterranean (either Cypriot or Syrian-Palestine) origin from the pre-colonization period. Callejo and Blanco (1960: 250-255) considered that the bowl had commercial ties between the Phoenicians and Tartessos. Almagro Gorbea (2001: 239-270), Mederos Martín (1996: 95-115) and Crielaard (1998: 187-206) claimed the object had absolutely no Phoenician links. Torres Ortiz (2012: 456-457) categorically affirmed that the bowl is the only Late Bronze Age piece that can be considered with certainty to have been imported into Extremadura from the East Mediterranean.

For over half a century, Mederos Martín (1996), Torres Ortiz (2012) and almost a dozen other scholars contributed opinions regarding the antiquity of this particular vessel. Their views ranged from the 15th to the 6th century B.C. (Figure A.2).

Est. Antiquity (century B.C.)	***Scholar***	***Authors' rationale***
1. 15th – 11th	Schauer (1983: 179ff.)	Egyptian drinking sets, Palestine, Cyprus.
2. 14th – 13th	Burgess (1991: 25-45)	Based on the antiquity of the torques
3. 14th – 12th	Alvar (1988: 429-443)	
4. 14th – 12th	Niemeyer (1984: 3-94)	
5. 14th – 13th	Matthäus (2000: 64; 2001: 175)	Bowls of this kind appear in the Syrian-Canaanite corridor

Est. Antiquity (century B.C.)	*Scholar*	*Authors' rationale*
6. 13th – 12th	Schauer (1983)	Bronze Age of the French Britany Hinguer Berry; Malassis Berry (Golden torques)
7. 13th – 10th	Mederos Martín (1996: 104-7)	Cypriot and Oriental productions
8. 12th – 11th	Almagro Gorbea (1977: 243-5)	
9. 11th	Matthäus (2001: 153-214)	Cypriot context (LC IIIB, CG I and CG I/CG II).
10. 11th – 10th (1039-931)	Almagro Basch (1969: 275-287)	Gold and Silver Egyptian vessels. Tel Basta
11. 11th – 10th	Crielaard (1998: 192-193)	Cypriot funerary bowls (CG I and CGII)
12. 11th – 10th	Torres Ortiz (2012: 456-57)	Best comparable-bowls are Cypriot
13. 8th – 7th	Almagro Basch (1967; 1969)	Egyptian
14. Later	Blázquez (1968)	
15. Later	Hawkes (1971: 38-50)	

Figure A.2: Scholar estimates of antiquity of the bowl of Berzocana

How could there be such a spread among experts in determining the antiquity of this particular object? Were the scholars referring to different events in the life of the bowl of Berzocana? Perhaps they considered the below questions to help reach their conclusions:

1. When and where did the first designs of similar bowls appear in Canaanite territory?
2. When and where were similar Canaanite bowls manufactured?
3. When were similar Cypriot bowls manufactured?
4. When was this bowl manufactured?
5. When did Orientals decide to come to Extremadura?
6. When did this particular bowl arrive in Extremadura?
7. When was the bowl of Berzocana buried?

Over 300 years, the elite of Aegean descent in Canaan and Cyprus used this type of luxury item as a ceremonial and burial object. The design, dimensions, and geometric characteristics of this ceremonial object were used by different groups around Philistia, central Canaan, northern Canaan, and in cities across Cyprus. Thirty-seven Berzocana-type bowls[41] were identified from sixteen distinctive locations (Figure A.3) (a) two bowls from an Egyptian

[41] After Zorea (2018b), I identified five additional Berzocana-type bowls: one from Achziv (see Chapter 8) and four from Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (see Chapter 12).

necropolis corresponding to c. 1200 B.C.; (b) twenty-seven bowls from Canaanite territories inhabited by the Sea Peoples [e.g. Philistines (see Chapter 2), Tjeker (see Chapter 6), and maybe Denyen (see Chapter 3)] during the 12th–11th centuries B.C.; and (c) eight bowls from Cyprus: two from the 12th century B.C., five from the end of 11th century B.C., and one with unknown antiquity.

#	*Location*	*Tomb #*	*Diam. / Ht. (cm)*	*Est. Antiq. (year or cent. B.C.)*	*Reference - Present Location*
1	Tell el-Farah	914	N.A.	1290-1214	Starkey and Harding (1932: 22, lam. 48/37) – N.A.
2	Tell el-Farah	960	N.A.	1290-1156	Starkey and Harding (1932: 25-26, lam. 55/320) – N.A.
3	Tell el-Farah	822	N.A.	c. 1200	Petrie (1930: 9-10, lam. 28/832) – N.A.
4	Tell el-Farah	615	N.A.	c. 1130	Petrie (1930: 10, lam. 30/615) – N.A.
5	Tell el-Farah	532	N.A.	1131-1112	Petrie (1930: 56, 30:112 7, lam. 21:93) – N.A.
6	Tell el-Farah	562	N.A.	after 1050	Petrie (1930: 7, lam. 21:97) – N.A.
7	Beit Shemesh	12	18.0 / 4.9	N.A.	Matthäus (2001: 175); Gershuny (1985: 85:5, pl.3: #34) Dept. Ant. Museums, Jerusalem, Israel
8	Tel Gezer	N.A.	13.1 / 2.7	N.A.	Gershuny (1985: pl.3: #39) London British Museum
9	Tel Gezer	N.A.	14.1 / 3.7	N.A.	Gershuny (1985: pl.3: #41) London British Museum
10	Deir al-Balah	114	15.2 / 3.7	N.A.	Dothan, T. (1979: figs. 41, 42) – N.A. Gershuny (1985: pl. 6: #72) Jerusalem Israel Museum
11	Tell el-Ajul	1074(?)	16.2 / 3.75	N.A.	Gershuny (1985: pl. 6: #74) Israel Dept. Antiquities, Jerusalem
12	Beit Shean	7	13.6 / 2.9	12th – 11th	Oren (1973: 216, fig. 41 #38); Matthäus (2001) Gershuny (1985: pl. 5: #69)
13	Dothan	I Level 3	16.6 / 3.8	N.A.	Gershuny (1985: pl. 3 #35) St. George Cathedral, Jerusalem, Israel
14	Dothan	I Level 4	16.1 / 3.5	N.A.	Gershuny (1985: pl. 4: #48) St. George Cathedral, Jerusalem, Israel
15	Dothan	I Level 2	17.3 / 3.9	N.A.	Gershuny (1985: pl. 4: #49) South Hamilton, MA (U.S.A.)
16	Dothan	I Level 2	17.9 / 4.3	N.A.	Gershuny (1985: pl. 4: #51) St. George Cathedral, Jerusalem, Israel
17	Dothan	I Level 4	13.5 / 2.9	N.A.	Gershuny (1985: pl. 5: #68) St. George Cathedral, Jerusalem, Israel
18	Megiddo	912 B	14.2 / 4.4	Late Bronze II	Gershuny (1985: #33) Jerusalem, Israel Department of Antiquities
19	Megiddo	912 A1	15.2 / 3.3	Late Bronze II	Gershuny (1985: #40) Chicago, Oriental Institute (U.S.A.)
20	Megiddo	Locus 1739	16.6 / 3.5	c. 1130 - 1050	Gershuny (1985: #44) Chicago Oriental Institute (U.S.A.)
21	Megiddo	Locus 1739	16.4 / 4.0	c. 1130 - 1050	Gershuny (1985: #46) Unknown

#	Location	Tomb #	Diam. / Ht. (cm)	Est. Antiq. (year or cent. B.C.)	Reference - Present Location
22	Tell Jatt	Hoard	15 / 3.6	11th	Artzy (2006b: 28-29, 56, fig.2.1:6-10 J-39) Hecht Museum, Haifa, Israel
23	Tell Jatt	Hoard	Miss. / 3.2	11th	Artzy (2006b: 28-29, 56, fig.2.1:6-10 J-70) Hecht Museum, Haifa, Israel
24	Tell Jatt	Hoard	15 / 3.8	11th	Artzy (2006b: 28-29, 56, fig.2.1:6-10 J-38) Hecht Museum, Haifa, Israel
25	Tell Jatt	Hoard	15 / 3.5	11th	Artzy (2006b: 28-29, 56, fig.2.1:6-10 J-36) Hecht Museum, Haifa, Israel
26	Tell Jatt	Hoard	16 / 3.0	11th	Artzy (2006b: 28-29, 56, fig.2.1:6-10 J-37) Hecht Museum, Haifa, Israel
27	Tell Jatt	Hoard	16.5 / 4.4	11th	Artzy (2006b: 28-29, 56, fig.2.1:6-10 J-35) Hecht Museum, Haifa, Israel
28	Tell Jatt	Hoard	18.8 / 3.5	11th	Artzy (2006b: 28-29, 56, fig.2.1:6-10 J-41) Hecht Museum, Haifa, Israel
29	Azor	D63	16.5 / 4.1	12th – 11th	Dothan, M. (1989a: 169, D63/7)
30	Kition Cyprus	Tomb 9	N.A.	Beginning 12th	Matthäus (2001: 175)
31	Hala Sultan Cyprus	Tomb 23	N.A.	1175	Mederos Martín (1996: 105); Oren (2000: 265)
32	Gastria-Alaas Cyprus	Tomb 6 or 8	N.A.	1050 - 950	Matthäus (1985: 115-118); Mederos Martín (1996: 105)
33	Kouklia-Skales Cyprus	Tomb 49	N.A.	1050 - 950	Matthäus (2001: 175); Karageorghis (1983)
34	Kouklia-Skales Cyprus	Tomb 79	N.A.	1050 - 950	Matthäus (2001: 175); Karageorghis (1983)
35	Amathus Cyprus	Tomb 22	N.A.	1050 - 950	Schauer (1983: 179,182); Niemeyer (1984: 8-9); Alvar (1988: 434); Burgess (1991: 26); Mederos Martín (1996: 105); Matthäus (2001: 175)
36	Lapithos Cyprus	Tomb 409	N.A.	1050 - 900	Schauer (1983: 179,182); Niemeyer (1984: 8-9); Alvar (1988: 434); Burgess (1991: 26); Mederos Martín (1996: 105); Matthäus (2001: 175)
37	Cyprus	Unknown	N.A.	N.A.	Metropolitan Museum of Art, N.Y.

Figure A.3: List of comparable bowls in the East Mediterranean (Canaan & Cyprus)

2. Comparable bowls: archaeological findings in Canaan

The above-mentioned Berzocana-type bowls in Canaan are distributed in southern, central, and northern regions and are mapped below (Figure A.4).

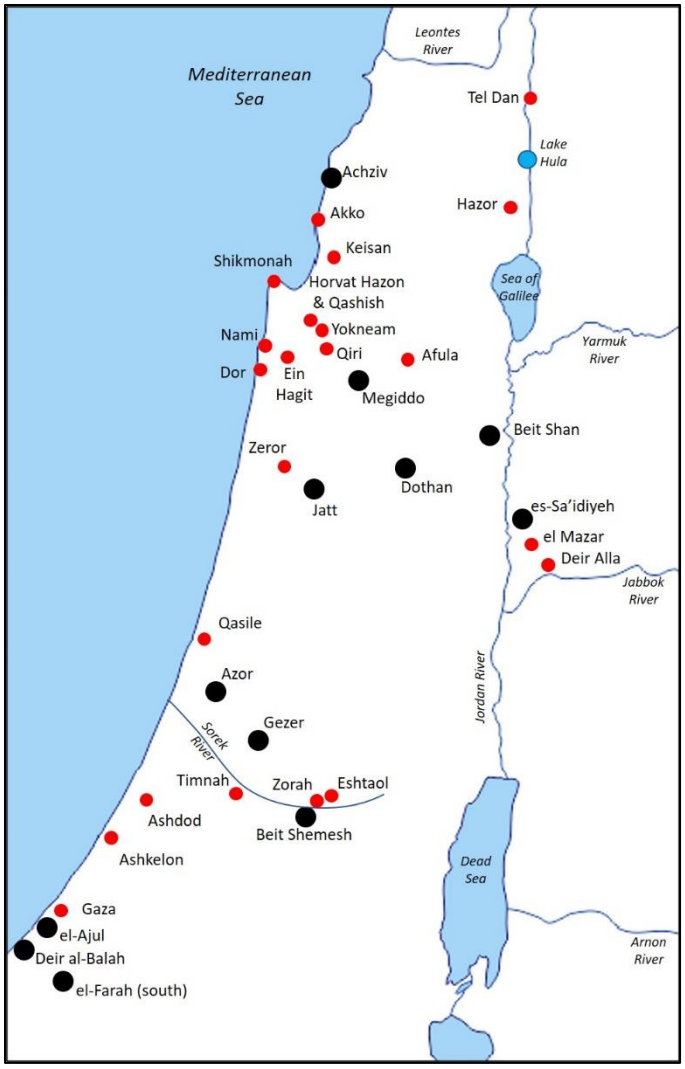


Figure A.4: Locations in Canaan (marked in black) where Berzocana-type bowls were found

2.1 Tell el-Farah South

2.1.1 Egyptian cemetery (13th century B.C.)

Tell el-Farah, also known as Beth Pelet (Starkey and Harding 1932), is located in the Negev-desert (Figure A.4). Two comparable bowls were found in Egyptian tombs dating back to the 13th century B.C., although I believe they may be dated later (Figure A.3).

2.1.2 Philistia (12th–11th centuries B.C.)

After the invasion and destruction of the Egyptian and other Canaanite villages in southern Canaan, the Philistines settled in a region called Philistia. In the same city of Tell el-

Farah South (Figure A.4) where Starkey and Harding would discover comparable bowls in Egyptian tombs, Sir William Flinders Petrie unearthed four bowls in Philistine tombs (Figure A.3), one of which was found in Tomb 615 (Figure A.5).

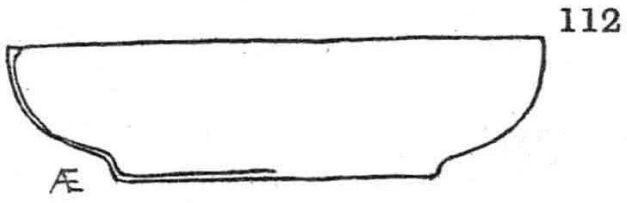


Figure A.5: Comparable bowl, Tell el-Farah (after Petrie 1930)

2.2 Beit Shemesh

Beit Shemesh (or Beth Shemesh) is located approximately 19 miles west of Jerusalem (Figure A.4). The ancient city of Beit Shemesh ("house of the sun" or "temple of the sun" in Hebrew) was originally named after the worshipped Canaanite sun-goddess Shemesh (or Shamash). The ruins of the ancient biblical city can still be seen at Tel Bet-Shemesh, a mound covering about seven acres of a low hill, located near the current modern city. Identification of the mound is based on the Old Testament's geographical description as well as the Onomasticon of Eusebius of Caesarea. The Onomasticon is a directory of place-names, a primary source that provided historical geographers with knowledge of 4th century A.D. Palestine and Transjordan. Shamash is mentioned several times in the 14th century B.C. Amarna letters, and Beit Shemesh is first mentioned as a city on the northern border between the tribe of Judah and the tribe of Dan (Joshua 15:10).

Excavations down to the Beit Shemesh bedrock at the beginning of the 20th century and in the 1930's exposed large parts of the tel. Remains of several successive cities from the Bronze and Iron ages were uncovered (Bunimovitz and Lederman 1997). Renewed excavations in 1990 shed more light on the history of ancient Beit Shemesh (Bunimovitz and Lederman 2000). Archaeologists concentrated their efforts on the northern and southern sides of the tel. In the very first season, the remains of several impressive Iron Age buildings were uncovered, indicating the importance of this city. Beit Shemesh's unique standing was due to its strategic location along the Diagonal Route, or the major artery through the Shephelah (lowland) and major cities such as Azekah, Moresheth Gath, Mareshah/ Beth Guvrin and Lachish. In the 12th century B.C., Beit Shemesh was destroyed and its houses were buried under a thick layer of ash and bricks (2 Chronicles 28:18).

Other references to Beit Shemesh include when the Philistines captured the Ark of the Covenant in the battle of Ebenezer, and they placed it on a cattle-drawn cart in the Philistine town of Ekron and sent it via Nahal Sorek to Beit Shemesh (1 Samuel 6:12-13); when Samson

killed the lion (Judges 14:5-6); and again, when Samson tied torches to the tails of three-hundred foxes (Judges 15:4).

In the 10th century B.C. during the reign of King Solomon, Beit Shemesh was rebuilt and served as a regional administrative center for the Israelite Kingdom. The remains show evidence of considerable planning and financial investment in buildings. The city was surrounded by massive fortifications and its water supply was guaranteed by a subterranean reservoir. Details of the comparable bowl are shown in Figures A.3 and A.6.

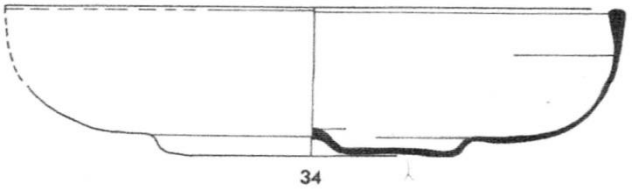


Figure A.6: Comparable bowl, Beit Shemesh (after Gershuny 1985)

2.3 Tel Gezer

Tel Gezer is located on the northern fringe of the Shephelah region, approximately 19 miles northwest of Jerusalem (Figure A.4). The Shephelah is a transitional region of soft-sloping hills in south-central Israel stretching over 6-9 miles between the Judean Mountains and the Coastal Plain. Gezer was strategically positioned at the junction of the Via Maris and the highway through the valley of Ayalon to Jerusalem.

Gezer is mentioned in the Bible at the time of Joshua (Joshua 10:33). In the Late Bronze Age (second half of the 2nd millennium B.C.) a new fortification wall, four meters thick, was erected there. In the 14th century B.C., a palace was constructed on the high western part of the mound. Towards the end of the Bronze Age, the city declined and its population shrunk. Gezer is mentioned in the victory stele of Egyptian Pharaoh Merneptah, dating to the late-13th century B.C. A large building with many rooms and courtyards belonging to the 12th–11th centuries B.C. was found on the acropolis. Grinding stones and grains of wheat found among the sherds indicate that it was a granary. Local and Philistine vessels attest to a mixed Canaanite/Philistine population. At the beginning of the 10th century B.C., Gezer was sacked by an Egyptian pharaoh (probably Netjerikheperre Setpenamun Siamun Meryamun [r. 986-967 B.C.] and better known as Siamun) and the city was given as a gift to King Solomon's wife, the pharaoh's daughter (1 Kings 9:16; Macalister 1912; King 2001).

Archaeologists working at the 33-acre mound of Tel Gezer identified 26 strata covering from the Late Chalcolithic to the Roman periods. Stewart Macalister (1912) first excavated Tel Gezer from 1902–1909 in one of the earliest large-scale scientific archaeological projects. He identified what he believed to be a Middle Bronze Age Canaanite "high place" dedicated to child sacrifice. Due to Macalister's unsophisticated excavation techniques and insufficient record-

keeping, archaeologists W. Dever (2014: 20), G. Wright, and J. Seger decided to conduct an additional excavation from 1964 to 1974. Macalister's "high place" was located again and re-excavated in 1968. Dever (2014) published the final report of the Tel Gezer "high place" excavations. Details of the Berzocana-type bowls are shown in Figure A.7.

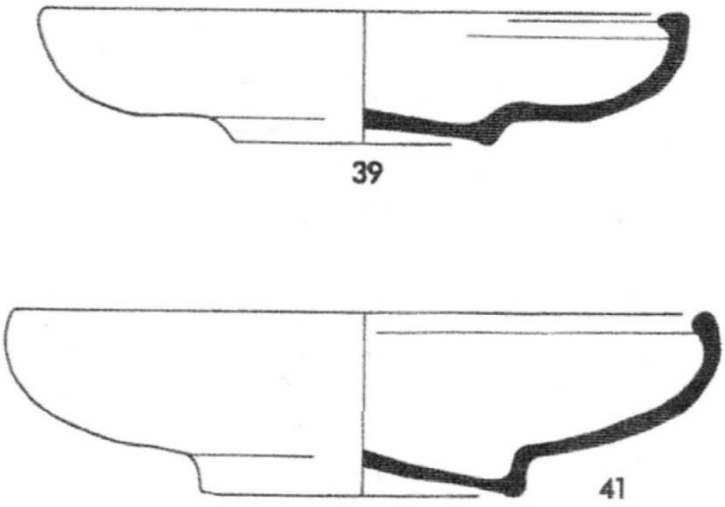


Figure A.7: Comparable bowls, Tel Gezer (after Gershuny 1985)

2.4 Deir al-Balah

Deir al-Balah is located 9 miles south of present-day Gaza (Figure A.4). In the Late Bronze Age during Pharaoh Ramesses II's reign, it served as one the six Egyptian fortified outposts placed across the Horus Way, the military road to Canaan (Bunson 2002: 97).

Deir al-Balah remained in Egyptian hands until the Philistines conquered the southern coastal area of Canaan. Between 1972 and 1982, T. Dothan (1979: 10) headed archaeological excavations corresponding to the Egyptian-period. The Philistine settlement is thought to have been situated southwest of the excavation site; its remains are still hidden under large sand dunes. Five pits dug into the Late Bronze Age layers containing Philistine pottery are among the few findings from that period. The recovered objects, including a Berzocana-type bowl, were placed in the Israel Museum of Jerusalem and the Hecht Museum in Haifa, Israel (Figure A.3).

2.5 Tell Ajul (Tell el-Ajul)

Tell el-Ajul is an archaeological mound located at the mouth of Wadi Gazah, south of present-day Gaza (Negev and Gibson 2001: 25-6) (Figure A.4). In 1930-1934, this site was excavated by British archaeologists under the direction of Sir Flinders Petrie (1933) who

published his finding of a Berzocana-type bowl (Figure A.8). In 1999 and 2000, the excavations were renewed by P. Fischer.

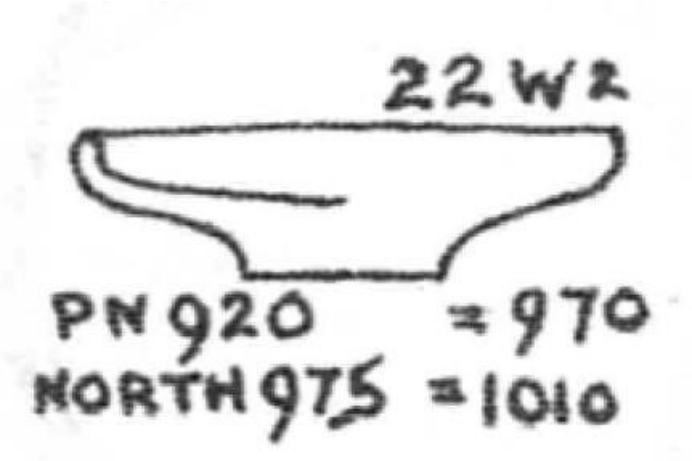


Figure A.8: Comparable bowl, Tell el-Ajul (after Petrie 1933)

3. Via Maris

Recognizing the value of the Via Maris between Canaan and Damascus, Sea Peoples attacked Egyptian positions and major cities along the way and destroyed Beit Shemesh, Beit Shean and Megiddo in c. 1130 B.C. (see Chapter 6). They utterly defeated the Egyptian forces along that critical highway garrisons and there were no more Egyptians in Canaan since then until the 10th century B.C. (Dothan and Dothan 2002: 133-134). Therefore, it is not surprising to find Berzocana-type bowls after c. 1130 B.C. in Via Maris cities.

3.1 Beit Shean

Beit Shean is mentioned in the Old Testament books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles (Rowe 1930). As a result of its privileged geographical location at the junction of northern Canaan's Jordan River Valley and Jezreel Valley (Figure A.4), Beit Shean played a major role in ancient times. As recorded in an inscription at Karnak, the Egyptians under Pharaoh Thutmose III conquered Beit Shean in the 15th century B.C. Because of its unique location, the Egyptians made this town the center of their regional administration (Mazar, A. 2010: 239).

During the three hundred years of Egyptian rule (18th Dynasty – 20th Dynasty) in Canaan, the population of Beit Shean appears to have been primarily administrative officials and military personnel. The city included a small palace for the regional Egyptian governor. The invasions of the Sea Peoples disturbed Egypt's domination over the East Mediterranean and around 1130 B.C. the city was destroyed by fire and was occupied by the Tjeker (see Chapter 6). The Egyptians did not reclaim it and lost control of the whole region.

During the 1920's and 1930's, Beit Shean was dug and studied by several teams from the University of Pennsylvania (USA). A Berzocana-type bowl was found in the northern cemetery and its details were published by Oren (1973). Additional archaeological work by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem was conducted between 1989 and 1996; it confirmed the existence of a city that was built after the Egyptians withdrew from Canaan in the 12th century B.C.

The dimensions and relevant detail regarding Beit Shean's bowl were made available by Gershuny (1985) and Matthäus (2001: table 9). According to T. Dothan (1982a), this bowl (Figure A.9) belongs to the period 12th–11th centuries B.C. while Oren (1973) dated it to the first half of the 11th century B.C. (Figure A.3).

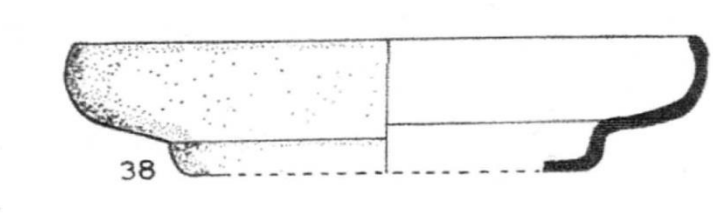


Figure A.9: Comparable bowl, Beit Shean (after Oren 1973)

3.2 Dothan

Dothan was another biblical city (Genesis 37:17). It is located southeast of Megiddo, southwest of Beit Shean (Figure A.4), north of Schechem and about 63 miles north of Hebron in present-day Israel. Excavation-findings conducted by Dr. R. E. Cooley in tomb #1 were published by Gershuny (Figure A.10).

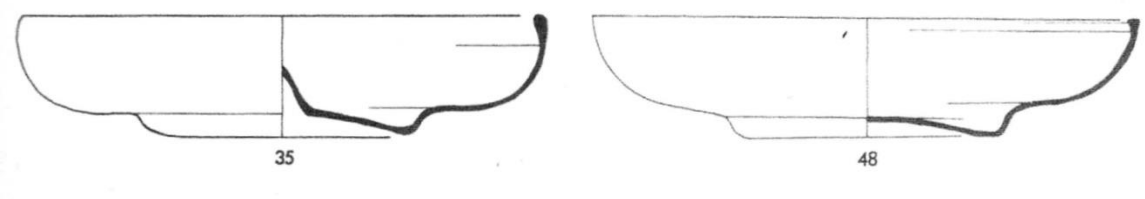


Figure A.10: Comparable bowls, Dothan (after Gershuny 1985)

3.3 Megiddo

Megiddo is first mentioned in the Bible in Joshua 12:21. It is known for its historical, geographical, and theological importance, especially under its Greek name: Armageddon. It is considered one of the most important cities in biblical times. Located on a hill overlooking the fertile Jezreel Valley, it is located approximately 22 miles southeast of the city of Haifa (Figure A.4). Megiddo was of great strategic importance since it was part of the coastal plain's

international highway (Via Maris) which linked Egypt to Damascus and Mesopotamia. The first written reference to Megiddo includes a detailed account of Egyptian Pharaoh Thutmose III's (r. 1479–1425 B.C.) invasion of the city in 1479 B.C. The city was previously inhabited by Canaanites, and then taken over by Egyptians. It was destroyed around the time of Ramesses VI's death (c. 1137 B.C.) (Aharoni 1967: 228).

Archaeological excavations have unearthed twenty-six layers of ruins, indicating a long period of settlements. The site was first excavated by G. Schumacher in 1903-1905, and by the Chicago Oriental Institute in 1925-1939 (Lamon and Shipton 1939; Loud 1948). Y. Yadin resumed work in 1960. Tel Aviv University continued the effort in 1992, 1994 (Ussishkin 1995: 240-267) and biannual expeditions have continued since. The findings corroborate written evidence concerning the importance of Megiddo, first as a royal Canaanite city, then as an Egyptian stronghold and administrative center, later as a city of Sea Peoples and finally as a royal Israelite city.

Four Berzocana-type bowls were excavated from several tombs and hoards and have been included in the present investigation (Figure A.3). Two of them (#44 and #46) are shown in Figure A.11.

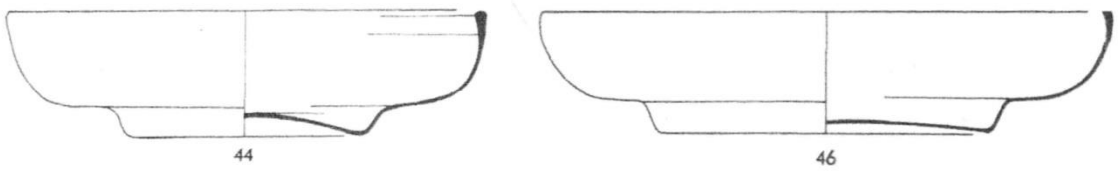


Figure A.11: Comparable bowls, Megiddo (after Gershuny 1985)

4. Tell Jatt

After the Sea Peoples invaded Canaan, the Tjeker made Dor their main port-city. Tell Jatt (Figure A.4) was located not far from Dor, northeast of current Hadera and southwest of Umm-al-Fahm. The site was associated with Ginti-Karmil (Alt 1925: 48 n.3). Ginti-Karmil was also identified in the Amarna Letters *EA* 264-266 (Goren *et al.* 2004: 257). A hoard found in Tell Jatt in 1990 included several bronze bowls almost identical to the one found in Berzocana. The cave in which the hoard was found was most likely a burial cave. Based on the typological analysis of ceramic objects present at the same location, it was dated to the 11th century B.C. (Artzy 2006: 28-30 fig. 2.1:6-11 and 2.2:1-2, 55-46, pls. II-III).

The comparable bronze bowls related to this study include five "curved bowls": J39, J70, J38, J36 and J37 (Figure A.12) (Artzy 2006: 28) and two additional "curved bowls with discoid base and curved rim." After being associated with other bronze objects and ceramic pieces, Artzy (2006b: 29) dated these bowls to the end of the 11th century B.C. The findings in Tell Jatt are

very similar to those excavated in nearby Tel Zeror, 5 miles from the coast, and also within Tjeker territory. Tel Zeror included an industrial copper-working facility with smelting furnaces, crucibles, and large amounts of copper slag, as well as ceramics probably from Cyprus, the same source as the copper itself (Kochavi 1968b).

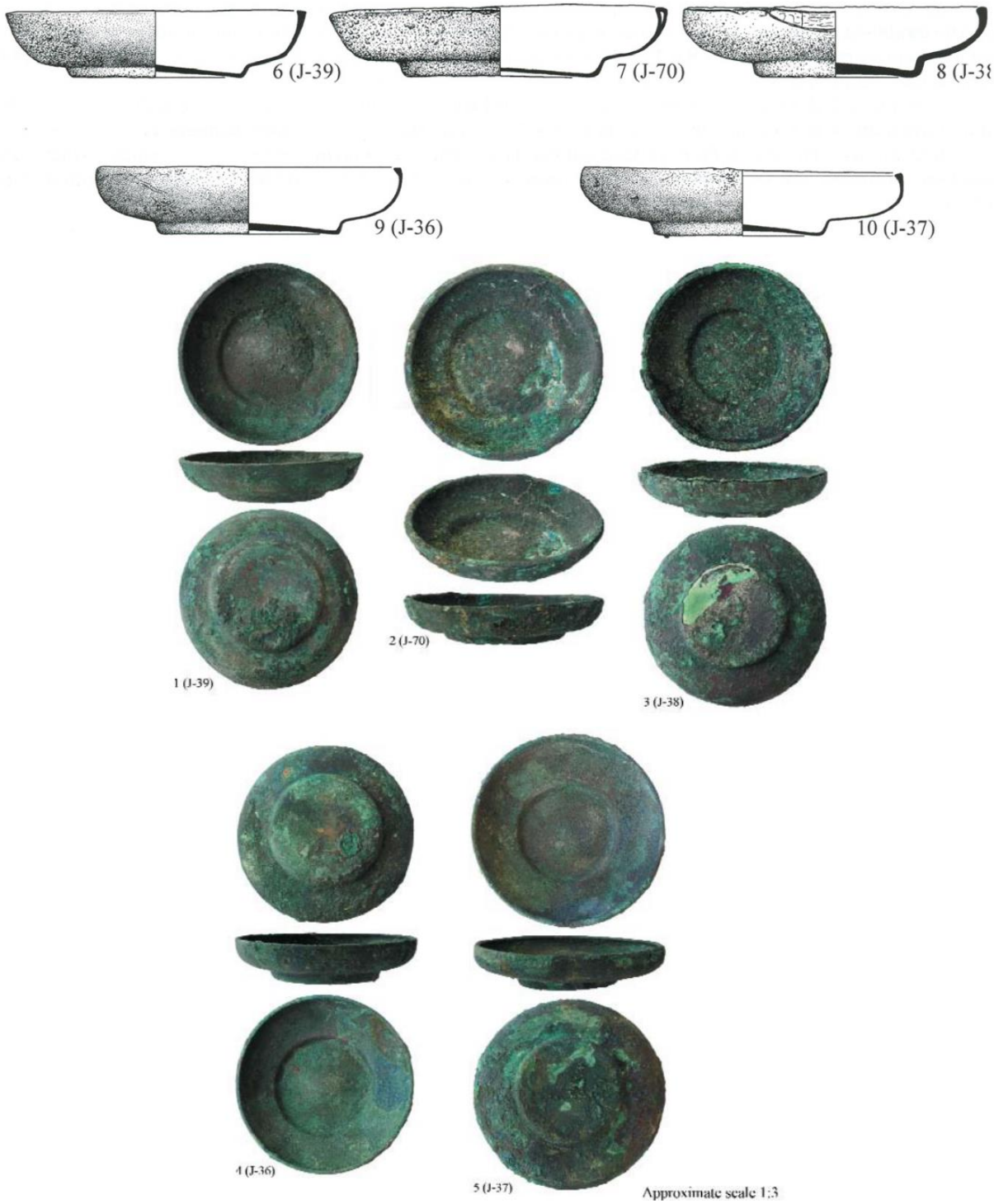


Figure A.12: Comparable bowls, Tell Jatt (after Artzy 2006)

Figure A.13 shows a one-handled bowl (Artzy 2016: 30, J65) that was found in Tell Jatt. This hints that perhaps the bowl of Berzocana with two holes may have originally been made with a handle.

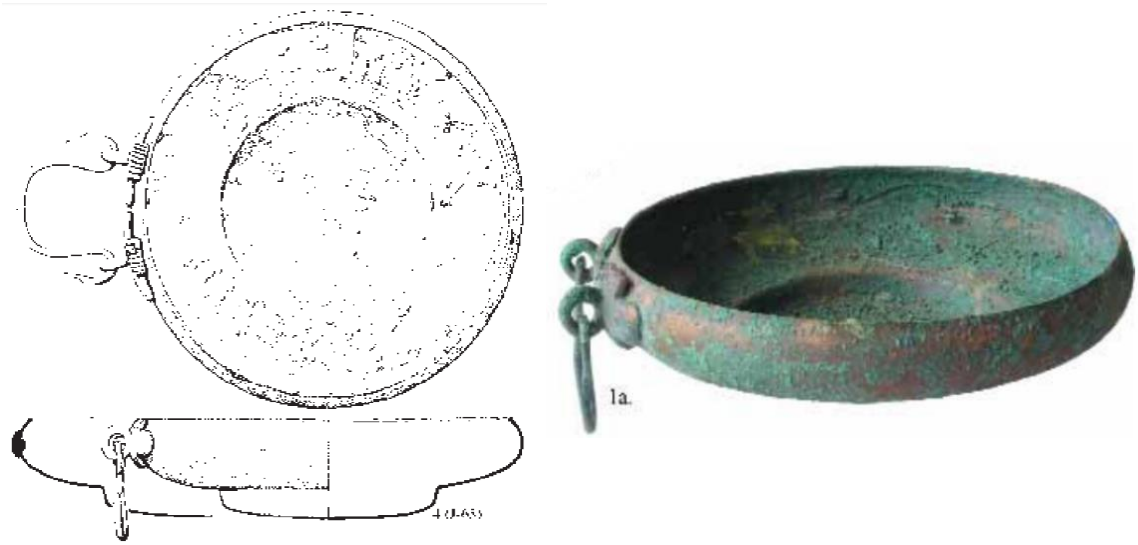


Figure A.13: One-handled bowl, Tell Jatt (after Artzy 2006)

5. Azor

The city of Azor, well-known by its many archaeological discoveries, is located 4 miles from the biblical port of Jaffa (Figure A.4). Some findings were the result of carefully planned excavations and others resulted by accident during real-estate development projects. Discoveries extend from the Chalcolithic to the period of the Crusaders. One of the sites found in this area belongs to the period of the Bronze Age Canaanites.

Azor was recorded in the *Septuagint* (a Koine Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible) as the city of Nachalat-Dan, which indicates that the Israelite tribe of Dan occupied that region. It is also mentioned in an Assyrian inscription about its conquest by Sennacherib (Aharoni 1967: 49).

In 1959, a necropolis dating back to the Israelite period was identified (Dothan, M. 1989a: 164-174), and in 1960 a cremation-type tomb was discovered and labeled "D63." It contained, among other items, a bronze bowl (Ben-Shlomo 2012: 157, 159, fig. 5.24.1.). This particular bowl, labeled "D63/7", had a slightly inverted rim, rounded body, flat and graded interior and a delicate ring base (Figure A.14). This bowl's shape is very similar to the bowl found in Berzocana.

Figure A.14: Comparable bowl, Azor (after Ben-Shlomo 2012)

The tomb showed signs of fire and. According to M. Dothan (1989a), it probably dated to the Israelite Iron Age (12th–11th centuries B.C.), whereas Ben-Shlomo (2012) dated it to the 11th–10th centuries B.C. Although neither Egyptians nor Israelites cremated their dead, some Aegeans did. Furthermore, this area may have been settled by the Denyen group of Sea Peoples who may have intermixed with the local Israelite tribe of Dan (see Chapter 3). M. Dothan (1989a) suggested this Azor cremation-tomb may have belonged to the Denyen.

6. Cyprus

The table below (Figure A.15) lists terms to identify archaeological periods for Canaan and Cyprus (Artzy 2006: 54).

Approximate Dates (B.C.)	***Terminology for Canaan***	***Terminology for Cyprus***
1300-1200/1190	Late Bronze IIB	LCIIC
1200-1190/1130	Iron IA	LCIIIA
1130-1090	Iron IB	LCIIIB
1090-1050	Iron IB	CGIA
1050-1000	Iron IB	CGIA mid
1000-950		CGIA final

Figure A.15: Period terminology in Canaan and Cyprus

Eight comparable bowls were provenanced to Cyprus. The findings correlate well with two very distinctive periods (Figure A.16). The first period corresponds to the turn of the 13th/12th centuries B.C., consistent with the Sea Peoples' presence on the island. The second period corresponds to c. 1000 B.C. and follows the destruction of several Sea Peoples' cities in Canaan (e.g. Dor, Zeror, Akko, Keisan, Achziv and others). This includes the expulsion of some Tjeker from northern Canaan; as well as the defeat of the Philistines and their confinement to their original Pentapolis in Philistia (i.e. Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron, Gaza and Gath).

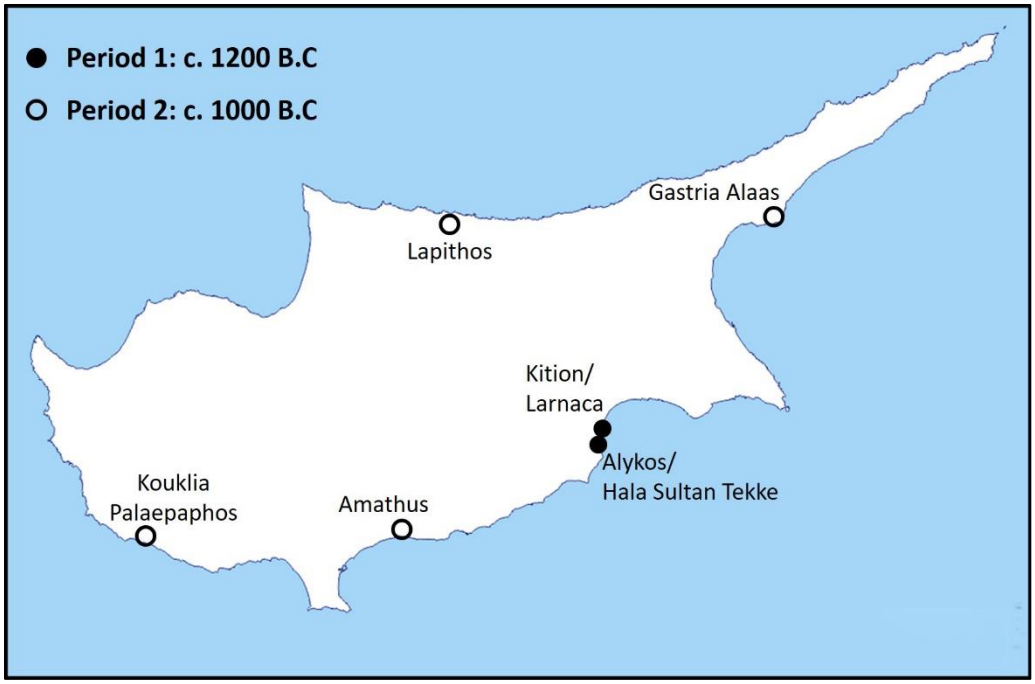


Figure A.16: Locations in Cyprus where Berzocana-type bowls were found

6.1 First Period (c. 1200 B.C.)

Two comparable bowls from the first period were unearthed in Cyprus in nearby cemeteries. The first was found in Kition (Larnaca) on the southeast side of the island and the second in Hala Sultan Tekke, only 5 miles further southwest. This corresponds to the time when this region was controlled by the Sea Peoples.

1. Kition
Location: the city-kingdom lies beneath modern-day Larnaca (Figure A.16).
Tomb: 9
Period: LCIIC – LC IIIA (13th–12th centuries B.C.)
Reference: Matthäus (2001: 175)

2. Hala Sultan Tekke
Location: near Larnaca (Figure A.16).

During the second half of the second millennium B.C, the area of the Hala Sultan Tekke was used as a cemetery by the people who lived in Dromolaxia Viztazia, a large town a few hundred yards to the west. A part of this town was excavated in 1970 by a Swedish archaeological mission. The New Swedish Cyprus Expedition has been carried out by Professor Peter M. Fischer from the University of Gothenburg, Sweden, year after year since 2010.

Niklasson-Sönnerby (1987: 224) excavated a particular tomb and advocated that the burial took place immediately or shortly after some of the buildings in this settlement collapsed.

This destruction seems to have coincided with a series of devastations to coastal Cypriot sites and confirmed at other Late Cypriote IIIA sites. The graves at Hala Sultan Tekke are believed to be of the Aegean type.
Tomb: 23 (?)
Period: Late Cypriote III A1 (Mederos Martín 1996: 105); Transition between LCIIIA1 and LCIIIA2 c. 1175 B.C. (Oren 2000: 265)
References: Schauer (1983: 179, 182); Mederos Martín (1996: 105); Oren (2000: 265)

6.2 Second Period (c. 1000 B.C.)

More comparable bowls from the second period were discovered elsewhere around the island.

3. Gastria Alaas
Location: in the region of Famagusta on the Karpas Peninsula at the very northeast side of the island (Figure A.16); it is about 168 nautical miles northwest of Akko (Acre) and Dor in Canaan.
Tomb: 6/8
Period: LCIII B, first half of the 11th century B.C. (1100-1050 B.C.) (Matthäus 2001); Proto-geometric (Mederos Martín 1996: 105)
References: Schauer (1983: 179, 182); Matthäus (1985: 115-118; n. 332, Taf. 19); Mederos Martín (1996: 105).

4. Kouklia Palaepaphos-Skales
Location: southwest (Figure A.16).
Tomb: 49 (it included numerous round and hemispherical bowls)
Period: CGI (1050-950 B.C.) (Matthäus 2001: 175)
References: Karageorghis (1983: 57-76, figs. LXXIII-XC); Matthäus (2001: 175)

5. Kouklia Palaepaphos-Skales
Location: southwest (Figure A.16).
Tomb: 79
Period: CGI (1050-950 B.C.) (Matthäus 2001: 175)
References: Karageorghis (1983: 241-250, figs. CXLIX-CLI and CLVI); Matthäus (2001: 175)

6. Amathus
Location: in the south-central portion of the island (Figure A.16).
Tomb: 22
Period: CGI (1050-950 B.C.) (Matthäus 2001: 175)
References: Schauer (1983: 179, 182); Niemeyer (1984: 8-9); Alvar (1988: 434); Burgess (1991: 26); Mederos Martín (1996: 105); Matthäus (2001: 175)

7. Lapithos-Kastros
Location: on the north-central coast of the island (Figure A.16)
Tomb: 409
Period: CG-I-II (1050-900 B.C) (Matthäus 2001: 175); Geometric I (1050-950) (Mederos Martín 1996: 105)
References: Schauer (1983: 179, 182); Gehring and Niemeyer (1984: 8-9); Alvar (1988: 434); Burgess (1991: 26); Matthäus (2001); Mederos Martín (1996: 105).

6.3 Unknown period

One of the best typological parallel to the bowl of Berzocana is included in the Cesnola Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of New York. The Cesnola Collection was the earliest acquisition of Mediterranean antiquities by the Museum and constituted its primary display of archaeological material (Myers 1914).

8. Unknown
Location: Cyprus
Tomb: Unknown
Period: Unknown
References: Richter (1915: 215 no 587); Matthäus (1985: 115 no 336 pl. 336); Matthäus (2000: 64, fig. 11, 2).

7. Comparable findings, their origin and antiquity

The period that followed the crisis of 1200 B.C. in the Central Mediterranean included massive social change, with numerous waves of migration to both the East Mediterranean (Canaan and Cyprus) and to the West Mediterranean.

Dating bronze pieces is difficult because of the considerable time that could elapse between a bowl's manufacturing and its placement in a burial site. The suggested dates below relate to six specific and distinctive regions and periods corresponding to Berzocana-type bowl finds:

a) Eleven Berzocana-type bowls found in southern Canaan (i.e. Tell el-Farah, Tell el-Ajul, Deir al-Balah, Tel Gezer and Beit Shemesh) are assumed to belong to the Philistines. They correspond to the period from the 13th century B.C. until possibly the end of the 11th century B.C. Two of these bowls were found in an Egyptian cemetery (Starkey and Harding 1932) dated to a time when the Aegean and Egypt had close ties and preceding both the Philistine-invasion in Philistia as well as the Battle of the Delta.
b) According to Yadin (1968), during the first half of the 12th century B.C., the Denyen of central Canaan may have conquered land from the Israelite tribe of Dan, intermixed with them and together headed north to settle in Laish/ Tel Dan. M. Dothan (1989a)

discovered a late-12th/early-11th century B.C. comparable bowl in central Canaan in Azor (see Chapter 3).

c) After Ramesses VI died [c. 1133 B.C. according to the chronology of Wente and Van Siclen (1976: 217-261)], the Egyptian garrisons along the Via Maris were conquered and destroyed. Ten other comparable bowls were found in cities and villages located along the Via Maris.
d) Tell Jatt is around 20 miles from Dor. It may likely have been populated by the Tjeker. Seven comparable bowls were found in Tell Jatt.
e) The Sea Peoples were present in Cyprus around 1200 B.C. Two comparable bowls were unearthed in the southeast part of the island.
f) Following the Sea Peoples' early 10th century B.C. defeats in Canaan (Katzenstein 1973: 75), the Tjeker elites retreated to Cyprus in search of refuge. Another five bowls were unearthed around the island.

In total, thirty-seven comparable-bowls corresponded to an estimated time-period of about 250 years. While this is still not enough to precisely date the bowl of Berzocana, it does narrow-down its possible antiquity and it is possible to learn more about its potential origin.

Several of the authors and scholars who analyzed the bowl of Berzocana estimated its antiquity, but without enough specificity regarding how they reached their conclusions or which historic events were linked to their proposed dates. Were these scholars trying to suggest a certain date corresponding to the design and manufacturing of this bowl? Or did they have in mind when the bowl was buried? Could they be referring to when the bowl of Berzocana showed up in Extremadura?

8. Assumptions and hypotheses

Based on archaeological and historical evidence, several hypotheses were formulated to logically explain the meaning of these findings.

8.1 Sea Peoples' motivation to reach the Iberian Peninsula

Archaeological findings indicate that several of the Sea Peoples groups that settled in Canaan had mastered how to develop and manufacture bronze-work for weaponry, religious artifacts and vessels for daily use. They needed a lot of bronze, an alloy of copper and tin.

Copper was attainable either from Cyprus or from the Feynan mines (which had the largest copper deposits in Southern Levant, east of the Jordan River by the Dead Sea); and according to Rodríguez Díaz and Enríquez Navascués (2001: 101-107), Iberia was an important source of tin. It is reasonable to assume that the Sea Peoples looked for tin in the Late Bronze Age's pre-colonization of the Iberian Peninsula, by sourcing tin from Extremadura as well as from Beiras, Portugal.

Ultimately, regional economic needs meant that bronze would be produced in the Peninsula, Canaan, Cyprus and other Mediterranean islands. With the metallurgic network in place across the Mediterranean, other products would flow from one extreme of the Mediterranean to the other.

8.2 Who could have manufactured the bowl of Berzocana?

After the Philistines appropriated the territory of Philistia from Egypt in the early 12th century B.C., they and the other Sea Peoples faced Egypt in the Battle of the Delta in c. 1175 B.C. According to some, it was their last failed attempt to conquer the heart of Egypt. Subsequently, the Philistines returned to Canaan and occupied Philistia in the south.

Besides, after being defeated in the Battle of Djahi in c. 1175 B.C., the Tjeker elites abandoned northern Canaan and found refuge back in Cyprus (see Chapter 6), the Sherden occupied limited central territories (Dothan, T. 1982b) and Egypt held on to its garrisons and other interests in Canaan along the Via Maris (e.g. Dothan, Beit Shean and Megiddo) to preserve its economic ties with its allies and trading partners to the north.

By c. 1130 B.C., the Tjeker returned to northern Canaan and defeated the Egyptians in their garrisons along the Via Maris. Egypt would remain absent from Canaan until the 10th century B.C. (Dothan and Dothan 2002: 133-134).

Based on the numerous archaeological findings, the Sea Peoples of Aegean origin (i.e. Philistines, Tjeker, Denyen) and Sherden had the technical expertise and know-how to manufacture the Berzocana-type bowl. However, there is no archaeological proof (including the El-Ahwat excavations [Zertal 2012]) that the Sherden utilized, let alone manufactured, this specific type of bowl. If not the Sherden, was it one of the other Sea Peoples?

The findings show very clearly that the cultures of the Sea Peoples of Aegean origin that reached Canaan initially maintained their original culture and religious beliefs. But as time went on, these cultures became regional and diverged rather dramatically from each other. Towards the turn of the 12th/11th centuries B.C., they were quite different. For example, Tjeker in northern Canaan consumed large volumes of fish (both sea and fresh water) and other sea-food, whereas the Philistines in southern Canaan consumed domesticated pigs (Sharon and Gilboa 2013: 458-459).

Furthermore, late-12th century B.C. Philistines switched from adoring a female Aegean pantheon ("Mother Goddess") to adopting a male Canaanite pantheon (Dagon, Baal-Zebub and others) (Dothan, T. 1982b). There is no evidence in the Iberian Peninsula that indicates the worshiping of male gods in the 11th century B.C. For those reasons, it is unlikely that the Philistines brought the bronze bowl of Berzocana.

If the Denyen (whose presence in Canaan after 1175 B.C. is questionable, see Chapter 3) and the Philistines (whose presence in the Iberian Peninsula is absent) are excluded as possible visitors to the Peninsula, the likelihood of interaction between Canaan and Cyprus with Extremadura and Beiras is limited to only one remaining Aegean Sea Peoples group: the Tjeker. Many of the motifs depicted on these warrior steles are linked to Aegean (or Cypriot) objects.

The bowl of Berzocana in Extremadura is an Aegean-type object. Therefore, it is possible that it was manufactured and transported to the Peninsula by the Tjeker.

8.3 From which port in the East Mediterranean could the bowl have been shipped?

Determining from which port of Canaan or Cyprus the bowl of Berzocana departed might require an educated guess. But after eliminating the Denyen, the Philistines and the Sherden as possible candidates, the group most likely to have been responsible for transporting the bowl of Berzocana is the Tjeker.

The Tjeker had several metallurgic workshops in Canaan and Cyprus. Tel Zeror, for example, falls within Tjeker territory and is located between Jatt (the site of several Tjeker burial tombs and Berzocana-type bowls) and Dor (the port and capital of the Tjeker territory in Canaan). According to metallurgic studies, Tel Zeror used copper from the famous Feynan mines. This reinforces the finding of a considerable bronze workshop in Tel Zeror and the theory that Tel Zeror was another Tjeker center for metallurgic production.

The Tjeker, and every bronze producer in the region, faced a major challenge in accessing tin, the crucial component to produce the many bronze objects. After their expulsion from Canaan at the end of the 11th century B.C., the Tjeker operated metallurgic workshops in Cyprus as demonstrated by the Berzocana-type bowls found in several Cypriot burials tomb sites. The bowl of Berzocana could have departed either from Dor or from any of the coastal Cypriot ports where Berzocana-type bowls were found (e.g. Gastria Alaas, Kouklia Palaepaphos-Skales, Amathus and Lapithos Kastros). Based only on the archaeological knowledge available today, the most probable of the Cypriot ports was Amathus because its unearthed tombs in the local necropolis included a Berzocana-type bowl, as well as a spit and an elbow fibula from the Iberian Peninsula.

8.4 Routes to reach the tin mines in Extremadura

The Tjeker could have traversed the Mediterranean from Canaan via Cyprus, Crete, Sardinia, the Balearic Islands, and ultimately to the Iberian Peninsula. Once there, they may have reached the Extremadura-Beiras region from the south through the Guadiana River. Alternatively, they could have come through the western coast and the Tagus River (Tajo) (Torres Ortiz 2012) or the Mondego River, both linked with the region of the Portuguese Beiras.

8.5 When did the bowl of Berzocana appear in Extremadura?

The Tjeker had contact with the Peninsula for an extended period of time after settling in Canaan and Cyprus. The bowl of Berzocana is of Oriental origin and it is impossible to exactly determine when it first appeared in the Peninsula.

Since the 11th century B.C. Tell Jatt bowls are probably the most comparable to the one found in Berzocana, it is sound to assume that this bowl arrived to the Peninsula in the 11th century B.C.

9. Conclusions

While some authors have claimed the bowl of Berzocana was Phoenician, the archaeological, historical, and biblical evidence presented in this research indicate otherwise. Four groups belonging to the so-called Sea Peoples (i.e. Philistines, Denyen, Tjeker and Sherden) landed and settled in Canaan and Cyprus during and between the 12th–10th centuries B.C. Archaeological findings in Canaan and Cyprus confirm that Berzocana-type bowls were used in burial ceremonies by groups of Aegean origin.

Since the Sherden were non-Aegean, it is unlikely they were involved in manufacturing such bowls. If the Denyen were displaced from central Canaan by other Sea Peoples and moved away from the shores of Canaan far to the northern inland, they would have lost their direct access to the sea and would have been unlikely exporters of such bowls. Also, there is no evidence that the Philistines had a presence in the Iberian Peninsula; therefore, it is unlikely they carried such a bowl across the Mediterranean.

However, the Tjeker manufactured Berzocana-type bowls in Cyprus and northern Canaan. Furthermore, the presence of two holes (on one side only) in the bowl of Berzocana indicate that this particular bowl could have been originally designed and built with only one handle, making it an excellent match to the single-handled bowl found in Jatt, a site in Canaan likely under Tjeker control. By process of elimination, this leaves the Tjeker as the likely manufacturers and transporters of the bowl of Berzocana.

The depictions engraved in most steles clearly indicate local familiarity with Aegean-Cypriot objects, implying also the likelihood of a Tjeker presence in the region.

In summary, the Iberian Peninsula pieces found in Cyprus (e.g. the elbow fibula and the articulated spit of Amathus [Carrasco Rus *et al.* 2012: 328]), the findings in Achziv, Canaan (Mazar, E. 2001; 2004), as well as those pieces found in the Peninsula (e.g. the warrior steles and the bowl of Berzocana, Cáceres), confirm the close relationship between east and west.

It is hard to believe that a small broken bronze bowl is able to tell so much about the history of the 12th – 10th centuries B.C., from the Iberian Peninsula to the East Mediterranean.

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